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16 May General Strike Causes 'Major Disruptions'

AU1605150591

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 16 May devotes 15 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to reports and interviews related to a general strike that began today following a call by the Union of Independent Trade Unions.

Correspondent Timo Luto states: "Today in Tirana was different from other days. At the bus stops of the urban bus service, people waited in vain for buses. Many people set off on foot for their workplaces. The workers of the bus service have announced a strike, and they are not alone. Work has also stopped in other enterprises of the capital. The usual trains did not leave Tirana and other railroad stations.

"A short time ago, the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania sent a petition to the government submitting various economic demands, calling for 50 percent wage increases for all working people, improved working conditions, introduction of a six-hour working day for women and abolition of the third shift for them, and other demands that we will not go into in this report. The deadline for these demands was yesterday, 15 May. Not receiving a reply to these demands, the Independent Trade Unions in Tirana and other districts of the country went on general strike. Because this strike includes the transportation sector, which has paralyzed many other sectors of the economy, we went first to the Transportation Ministry and talked to Qemal Sina, director of the Railroad Directorate."

In a recorded interview, Sina states that "all passenger trains have stopped today," and he speaks of "major disruptions" in freight movements. Sina states that a meeting has been held with representatives of the strikers, urging the resumption of the service of freight trains carrying food from the port of Durres.

A recorded interview with Lufti Ahmetaj, member of the Managing Committee of the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania, follows. Ahmetaj states: "Shkoder is entirely on strike—the entire city. Tirana is 80 percent on strike, Kavaje totally, and Durres almost totally, except for certain enterprises that are expected to join the strike soon. In Lezhe, Lac, Kruje, Elbasan, Korce, Fier, and Vlore, (?larger numbers of workers are expected to strike soon.)" Asked how long the strike will last, Ahmetaj states that it is "indefinite," but that certain essential sectors such as water, electricity, and hospitals will "show solidarity," but will maintain essential services.

Kastriot Muco, chairman of the Initiating Commission for the Creation of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions, states in a recorded interview that "the strike has broken out in many essential sectors of the economy, such as transportation, oil fields in Sheqishte and Kucove, and in certain mines." He states that the strikers' demands are "just," but he insists that "the conduct of these strikes must not harm the economy and create other undesirable and irreparable consequences for working people."

Luto states, "According to the information we have, work has been paralyzed as a result of the strike in many production enterprises in Kruje District. In Durres, besides the railroad workers, workers in the port have also stopped working. No unloading or loading of any ships in the port has been carried out at a time when many of them carry food and raw materials for the economy. However, there are other enterprises that have not downed tools, such as the grain procurement and processing enterprises, and the clothing enterprise, including a production line working for a German firm."

Elbasan correspondent Sylejman Haxhihasani states in a telephone report that "a large proportion of the workers of Elbasan District joined the general strike today." The bus service is said to have been suspended, and truck drivers are delivering food only to hospitals. The engineering department of the steel combine is also on strike. "One positive fact is that cooperation between all the strike committees and the state services has led to work proceeding normally in the water utility, the bread bakery, the retail network, and the milk procurement and delivery enterprises."

Luto states: "The future course of events will depend on the government's attitude toward the strike."

People's Assembly Debates Strike

AU1605154291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 May 91

[Zamire Koleci report]

[Excerpt] The People's Assembly began its proceedings at 1000 today. At the start of the session, Deputy Agron Fishta asked for the floor. He said among other things that as a result of the general strike announced today by the Independent Trade Unions, great concern has arisen in Durres District over the movement of freight on the rail network. The deputy then said that the workers in this sector began their strike at midnight last night, paralyzing the movement of trains. This, he said, contravenes the decree on the right to strike and even the communique issued about today's strike by the trade unions, which excludes sectors connected with food. Among the concerns are the cessation of grain transport to Tirana and the entire northern region at a time when the storehouses in these districts have no grain, the interruption of fuel transport, etc. In this exceptional situation, he called on everyone to reach unanimous agreement on finding a way to oblige the railroad workers to resume work.

Deputy (Pjeter Thema) expressed the view that the Assembly's proceedings should be stopped at a time when the entire country has started a previously announced strike.

Meanwhile, Deputy Dritero Agolli said that it is not the task of the Assembly to stop the strike, because it is not a firefighting service to protect the government. The problem of the strike must be solved by the president, the government, the political parties, and the trade unions themselves.

Dhimiter Anagnosti suggested that the proceedings should continue, because the call to suspend them is shortsighted and recalls the old-fashioned way of behaving.

After these interruptions, the Presidency agreed to proceed with the agenda, and stated that the Presidency would meet later with the presidiums of parliamentary groups to decide how to act. The session went on to consider other articles of the draft regulations on the Presidency and the Assembly's permanent, temporary, and interparliamentary commissions. [passage omitted]

Government, Unions Meet

AU1605191091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] An open meeting of the government attended by leaders of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the Free Trade Unions, and representatives of the country's political parties began at 1800 yesterday. This meeting, which continued until 0100 this morning, discussed the study report on wage increases submitted by the working group of the Ministry of the Economy.

Economy Minister Leontiev Cuci described the main aspects of the study, which was made available earlier to the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the Free Trade Unions, and the political parties. He explained that this study, undertaken in a very difficult situation of economic crisis, is only a part of the economic reform and does not pretend to solve all the concerns and distortions that have arisen, which will be settled by the study on review of the whole price-wage system. The economy minister explained that the wage increase of 22-30 percent included in the submitted report is not linked to rising prices and stressed such main features of the report as the increase in the minimum wage and the minimum pension by 22 percent, the total increase in wages, the distribution of bonuses by the management of enterprises in cooperation with the trade unions, their right to use profits for wage increases, the removal of the upper limit on wages, etc. He also described the paths the government intends to follow so as not to encourage further inflation, which is real, by putting further currency in circulation.

After the economy minister's explanation, many questions were asked by representatives of the political parties, the leaders of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, and the members of the government. Before questions were answered, Kastriot Muco, chairman of the Initiating Committee for the Creation of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, read out the statement of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, whose essence was a demand for an immediate 50-percent wage increase.

Economy Minister Leontiev Cuci answered such questions as why a partial study of wage increases had been made, instead of a thorough review of wages and prices. Is there real difficulty in providing a real study, because of a lack of actual currency? To what extent will inflation rise after the wage increases offered in the partial study? Is there any guarantee that this study will be acted on by 1 July, if it is approved by the People's Assembly? Why were the miners' wages increased by 60 percent? Why were the demands of the Independent Trade Unions for a 50-percent wage increase not heeded? How will increased purchasing power be met by goods? What were the criteria for the classification of professions? Has the study addressed the accumulated problems in a practical and economic way, or is it a temporary and purely psychological solution?

Answering these questions, Cuci explained among other things that, in consultations with the group of IMF experts, the latter argued against adopting inflationary measures, including wage increases. Nevertheless, the working group decided to submit a report including a 22-30 percent wage increase, bearing in mind the mood among workers after the previous government's hasty and ill-considered step of increasing miners' wages at the beginning of this year.

After many questions were answered, the representatives of the Albanian Workers Party, the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Party of National Unity, the Ecology Party, and the Agrarian Party made their comments on the study that was presented, and offered various alternatives. Members of the government also expressed their comments and views on the study.

In conclusion, the Council of Ministers, arguing the economic impossibility of increasing wages by 50 percent and the immediate negative effects that would be apparent and would burden the economy and the people, and bearing in mind the views of the Independent Trade Unions, intends to present within 15 days a thorough study for the revision of prices and wages. The Council of Ministers called on the leaders of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions to explain to workers at open meetings the situation of our economy and its possibilities, just as the government had spoken frankly with the trade unions. It invited experts from the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, the Free Trade Unions, and the political parties to cooperate with the Ministry of the Economy in order to prepare the best possible study on increasing wages and prices, which, after being discussed once again by the Council of Ministers and the trade unions, will be presented for approval to the People's Assembly.

The Council of Ministers asked the trade unions, political parties, and all working people to avoid all strikes during this period, which would lead to the final collapse of our economy.

Government Appeals Against Strikes

AU1605193391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 May 91

[Appeal issued by Council of Ministers on 16 May—read by announcer]

[Text] People of Albania: The economic and social situation through which we are living is extremely grave. The economy, long sunk in a deep crisis, continues to suffer from falling production in virtually all sectors. Social peace has been hit by various excesses.

The new government, with a clear platform and program, has pledged to the people to halt the economy's decline, to stabilize the situation, and to open prospects for the economic growth that is the basis for the people's prosperity.

Meanwhile, no sooner had the newly appointed government started work on implementing this program, and before it had had time to start its work on restructuring all economic and administrative structures, strikes were announced and indeed began in many enterprises. They have affected or threaten to affect the most sensitive points in the life of the nation, paralyzing the country's entire social and economic life, which could further jeopardize calm and public order and damage the homeland's defense capabilities. Their continuation could lead to ruin in the oilfields and mines, the very long and costly interruption of continuous technological processes, etc. Some of the strikes taking place extend into essential public services, such as the transportation of food and passengers, the energy sector, communal services, and even funerals. In many places, they contravene the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on strikes.

In the program that the Council of Ministers presented to the People's Assembly, the economic situation was clearly and fully described. At yesterday's meeting of the Council of Ministers too, in which leaders of the Trade Union Federations and representatives of the political parties took part, the government candidly described the situation and the current conditions that must be borne in mind in fulfilling the trade unions' demands for higher wages for working people. Despite this, bearing in mind the views of the leaders of the Federations of Independent Trade Unions present at this meeting, the government decided to examine more thoroughly the problem of increasing wages.

The strikes that have begun and are continuing, if not brought to an end, will have catastrophic consequences. They will ruin the economy, will in fact delay the real solution of the problems of today and the future, and will threaten the fulfillment of the people's basic needs. They could lead to the total destabilization of the country's economic, political, and social life, with unforeseeable consequences. Thus they cannot create conditions for solving working people's legitimate demands for a better life.

At this critical moment, the government turns to the Albanian people, to all social strata, political parties, organizations, trade unions, and religious communities, with an appeal to judge the current circumstances coolly and realistically and to consider real ways and means of overcoming the difficult situation, correctly assessing what will help the people and their prosperity. It turns to all citizens of the Republic of Albania, issuing an appeal, for the sake of national interests, to act in a democratic way in accordance with the laws in force to permit the further democratization of society and an improvement in the homeland's prosperity.

For its part, the Council of Ministers assures the people that it has from the very start felt the heavy burden of the responsibility it has shouldered. With understanding and in a constructive spirit, the government will work together with all those who make up our nation to make it possible for them to realize their aspirations.

[Signed] The Council of Ministers.

[Dated] Tirana, 16 May 1991.

Unions Hold News Conference

AU1605212291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] The Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions [Bashkimi i Sindikatave te Pavarura Shqiptare, BSPSh] held a news conference this morning in the lecture hall of the Palace of Culture in the capital, at which its members and supporters, employees of the press, ATA, radio and television, and others took part. Lutfi Ahmetaj, member of the BSPSh's Managing Council, said among other things that this news conference takes place at a time when many workers of enterprises have today declared and begun strikes. This occurred because seven of the 17 demands laid before the government, such as a 50-percent increase in wages and pensions, the introduction of a six-hour working day for women and the abolition of their third shift, total openness about the events in Shkoder and the appearance of the true culprits before the courts, were not met by 15 May, the final deadline.

These demands were not submitted as we had prepared them, not even yesterday evening at the open meeting of the Council of Ministers. We therefore did not agree to take part in this meeting.

After stating that the strike was declared by the councils of the Independent Trade Unions at the grass roots, Ahmetaj stated that we support it, and are coordinating the councils' activities. Regarding the extent of the strike, he said that according to data so far, it includes 250,000 workers, members of the BSPSh in virtually all districts of the country, apart from those who work in essential services such as bakeries, the energy sector, water utilities, hospitals,

etc. In some towns such as Shkoder, Korce, Kavaje, etc., 100 percent of working people are involved in the strike as members of the BSPSh.

Answering the questions of those present, Lutfi Ahmetaj spoke about affirming and publicizing the BSPSh outside our country, the independence of this organization from political parties as the only possibility for its existence, about the examination of mainly economic problems by this trade union body, the continuation of the strike until the government meets all working people's demands, and the measures it has taken to prevent possible excesses during the strike.

People's Assembly Approves Rules for Presidency

AU1605145691 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 16 (ATA)—The People's Assembly resumed its proceedings on May 15 at 1700 with the discussion and approval of the draft rules on the Presidency, the permanent and provisional commissions and the bureau of the interparliamentary group. As it was decided upon on May 14, after the commission for compiling the draft rules submitted the material, the three parliamentary groups extensively discussed on it. In the afternoon the assembly passed onto the discussion and approval article per article of the first chapter: the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

Discussion concentrated particularly on the Article 1 for which there were put forth two variants. The first defined that the chairman of the Presidency is functionary, whereas the second that the Presidency of the People's Assembly is functionary.

The second variant was endorsed by majority of ballots.

The Article 2, on the election of the three secretaries, making up the secretariat, from the ranks of the youngest deputies, who will help the Presidency, was approved by majority of votes.

The tasks of the Presidency of the People's Assembly are formulated in the Article 3. This article contains 14 points and the Assembly discussed on them one by one. The deputies approved by majority of ballots this article, which sanctions the tasks of the Presidency of the People's Assembly. The deputies dwelt particularly on the 9th item of this article. There were two variants for this. The first defined that the Presidency of the People's Assembly approves the structure of the apparatus of the People's Assembly and wages, whereas the second one contained the following supplement: It runs the work of the apparatus, appoints, discharges or releases from the duty the working people of this apparatus. The second variant was endorsed by majority of ballots.

The deputies approved by majority of votes the Article 4 which contains 9 points on the tasks of the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly. This Assembly discussed one by one on the 7 points of the Article 5. This article, which reflects the tasks of the secretaries which make up the Secretariat of the People's Assembly, was endorsed by majority of ballots. Likewise, by majority of votes there was also approved the Article 6 on the competence of the Presidency of the People's Assembly in the field of foreign relations.

The Assembly continues its proceedings on today.

Need For Press Law Stressed

AU1605170091 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 5 May 91 p 1

[Skender Bucpapaj article: "Neither Chalk Nor Cheese"]

[Text] The delay in promulgating a detailed press law makes the press's new self-financing status highly unclear and insecure. People say: Neither chalk nor cheese! Neither in the old way, nor in the new!

For more than a year now, it has been said that part of our press now (starting from 1 July), and the whole of our press later, will become self-financing. Logically, this state measure should have been preceded by laws on the status of the press and, alongside these, laws on the status of journalists. In the absence of a law-governed state, these laws did not exist, because the press was simply considered one of the tools aiding ideological propaganda.

It is said that a specialized institution, the Committee for Culture and the Arts, is engaged in preparing these laws, providing information, making specific declarations, and giving interviews about this problem; now, however, at a time when the subscription drive should have started, it is not clear to anyone how they should act. A self-financing press means first of all economic independence and, as a result, independence of thinking and ideas; in other words, aesthetic and ideological independence, the total emancipation of the press and its working people, and its democratization. The relationships between the press and the public and between newspapers and a professional or mass readership become utterly different from what they were before. They are relationships of understanding, frankness, and truth. The press expresses the real level of civilization of this society.

Thus, the law on self-financing falls into stark contradiction to the real status of the press and journalists today. Everyone knows about the old-fashioned technology used to produce our newspapers and magazines. Newspapers are published that are technically substandard and aesthetically unpleasing, with faded print, blotched texts, and ink stains, while magazines, apart from anything else, appear after long delays. These things have a real influence on the relationship between the press and the public. Moreover, under the new conditions of

self-financing, it becomes impossible for our press to use this technology, for economic reasons. It is well known that at present every process in the production of a newspaper passes through various stages, each involving a number of workers, from typesetting to composition, the pouring of the lead, the inking, the operation of the rotary presses, the distribution of the press by the Post Office and retail outlets, its delivery to subscribers, etc. All these processes, besides being done in old-fashioned and burdensome ways that unfairly increase the newspaper's costs, are also carried out on obsolete and extremely slow machinery that breaks down time and again. The costs of the press today are therefore very high, through no fault of its own or of its working people and journalists. Self-financed publication requires change and improvement in all these processes.

The exceptional difficulties encountered in the movement of people, news, and motor vehicles also exert a very great influence on the creation of new relationships between the press and the public. Despite all its improvements, our telephone network is still a long way from being able to carry information at speed, at a time when journalists themselves do not in general have telephones, when the telephones in editorial offices are faulty, and when contact with villages and districts even in the most urgent cases can only be established after several hours. Under our present circumstances, one cannot objectively speak of equipping every newspaper with telex and telefax, etc.

Under such circumstances, the adoption as soon as possible of the detailed press law that journalists have long demanded would be the most urgent and timely measure to directly help the press's work in its new self-financing status. Journalists themselves will also clearly define their position in their relations with their work and the public, their rights, and their duties. The new processes taking place in our society also throw into relief the role of journalists. Objectively, journalists lag behind these processes, and an unfair detour has been made around them. Painful events, scandals, etc. occur, which a journalist's objectivity could cast light on, obliging the specialized organs to act fairly. The existence of laws would mean that a journalist would not have to obtain permits from certain offices before attending some important event. After being entrusted with his job by his director, he would be able to carry it out without the most unpleasant bureaucratic obstacles.

A detailed press law is more than necessary, especially because the sole organization representing journalists, the Albanian Journalists Union, remains extremely formal. It involves itself only in sending abroad delegations of directors and their friends. Thus, no social organization defends journalists from possible persecutions, punishments, and reprisals, which have been common and largely based on fabrications and falsifications. It is well known that these journalists have not been helped in the slightest by their colleagues, precisely because of the absence of any law or legality. This involves the civil and professional courage of a journalist, which exerts a direct influence on the productivity of his work and the newspaper on which he works. In order to carry out his work honestly and to a high standard, he must be guaranteed peace of mind against attacks of various kinds and from various quarters, of which there has never been any lack.

It is the absence of a detailed press law that gives rise to all these unpleasant shortcomings and is a serious obstacle to a normal transition to a self-financing press. Under these circumstances, without a law for itself, the press is neither chalk nor cheese.

Developments After Legislators' Walkout Reported

AU1605145991 Sofia BTA in English 1158 GMT 16 May 91

[Ivanichka Toncheva report]

[Text] Sofia, May 16 (BTA)—The MP's of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) who remained in parliament believe that the draft constitution is good and can be passed at an early date.

This was the position that rallied them yesterday at the meeting of the parliamentary SDS which was also attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, former leader of the opposition, and by Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev.

As only 39 MP's walked out, it is possible, in theory at least, to pass the draft constitution by the required two-thirds majority. Moderates cherish the hope that a couple of economic acts will also be passed before parliament is dissolved and new elections are scheduled. A week ago, when they opposed radicals, their leader Dr. Petur Dertliev stated they will remain in parliament until June and that there will be new elections in Bulgaria in September.

These dates were tabled for discussion last night. The spokesman for the parliamentary SDS Mr. Vladimir Sotirov said after the meeting that deadlines should not be unconditionally set. Opposition MP's who declined to be named said that among those who are staying in parliament the dominating intention is to stay even longer than June. They refused to specify what might make them follow the example of the 39. The most frequent response to this question is: "If we get sure that Communists are stalling..

Judging by the statements of MP's who attended the meeting last night, there is no point of agreement between the moderates and the group of 39 opposition MP's who walked out. Moderates at least put on a semblance of trying to make it up with radicals. They feel nervous as many people in their own organizations are backing the "Group 39." Last night's meeting of the parliamentary SDS took more than five hours and was quite stormy, participants say. Some of the moderates do not conceal that emotionally, internally they acknowledge that the 39 are right. But they do not walk out because they believe it would only make sense if the entire opposition does so.

President Zhelyu Zhelev and Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev spoke at the meeting last night. MP's say the political situation and the state of the economy were discussed.

Today about noon the spokesman for the president denied an allegation by "DUMA" that President Zhelev abandoned his non-partisan stance, called for an agreement inside the SDS and promised to issue a formal address to its supporters. The spokesman also said that the parliamentary faction of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] had also requested a meeting with the president this week. The meeting had been scheduled for today, but the BSP leadership asked for its postponement.

Five More Legislators Quit Assembly

AU1705080191 Sofia BTA in English 2118 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 16 (BTA)—Five more MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) walked out of parliament and joined the "Group of 39." Mr. Petko Simeonov, leader of the Clubs for Democracy, and Mr. Petur Beron, former SDS leader, are among them.

Today's rally, which was held in the immediate vicinity of the House of Parliament, is the first mass action in support of the "Group of 39." Yesterday and today SDS leaders of the circles upholding the continuation of parliament's work tried to prevent the rally by their statements on the radio and television. They warned that provocations were possible. Both parliament and the rally were guarded at close quarters by the law-enforcement authorities.

Some 20,000 people shouted in support of new elections and cheered loudly the stand of the radically-minded SDS leaders. Three of the MP's who joined the other 39 MP's actually did it at the rally itself. People cast insults and even charges at Mr. Petur Beron, the former SDS leader, before they learned of his decision.

SDS leader Filip Dimitrov spoke in support of the "Group of 39." He is convinced that the SDS will win the new elections. He said that when there will be a new parliament there will also be a new government—without Communists.

Many personal attacks were levelled at the leader of the Social Democrats and of the parliamentary group of the SDS, Dr. Petur Dertliev. The remaining of the two most influential forces of the SDS—the Social Democratic Party (BSDP) and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party—in parliament was called a step towards the formation of a new Fatherland Front. It was compared to the Union of the Communists with other parties which the Communists used in order to come to power after September 9, 1944, and then suppressed their allies.

Declarations in support of the 39 MP's of organizations of the BSDP and the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party were read at the rally as well as many appeals to the remaining opposition MP's to leave parliament.

The "Group of 39" was also supported by the vice president of the Podkrepa Trade Unions, Mr. Oleg Chulev.

The "Group of 39" is expecting rallies and processions throughout the country to express support for it. But most decisive for it would be the support of the SDS national conference scheduled for May 19.

Private Business Leaders Support Walkout

AU1705080591 Sofia BTA in English 2129 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 16 (BTA)—Leaders of the Bulgarian Business Party and of the Union of Private Entrepreneurs approved the action of the "Group of 39" (The MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces who walked out of parliament because they did not think it capable of passing genuinely democratic laws).

The representatives of the party and of the Union of Private Entrepreneurs believe that a parliament in which they are not represented is unreliable. They warn that the parliament may vote itself another four-year mandate. The private entrepreneurs insist on the adoption of a constitution without "pro-socialist elements."

According to Mr. Valentin Mollov, chairman of the Union of Private Entrepreneurs, there is a scenario to destroy private business and the opposition. Mr. Mollov is disappointed by the representatives of the SDS in the government and particularly by the reform of Finance Minister Ivan Kostov.

Intellectuals Warn SDS on 'Provocations'

AU1705094991 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is preparing a new very dangerous treaty with the Soviet Union which will consign Bulgaria to eternal isolation from Europe. This is one of the arguments of the 159 intellectuals calling on the MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) to walk out of parliament where they are acting as a screen for the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party.

In their letter, published in "DEMOKRATSIYA," the intellectuals call on the MP's of the SDS who remained in parliament to join the "Group of 39"—the MP's who left parliament arguing that the Grand National Assembly with its Socialist majority cannot adopt a sufficiently democratic constitution. The intellectuals add more arguments. According to them the BSP is engineering new provocations against the opposition, it is preparing its economic domination, it is sustaining interethnic tensions, and with its policy it is driving away young people and intellectuals from this country.

The appeal was signed by poetess Blaga Dimitrova, satirist Radoy Ralin, artist Stefan Despodov, Academician Aleksey Sheludko, directors, scientists, writers, actors, all of them people respected in this country.

The "Group of 39," joined by five more MP's of the SDS yesterday, was supported by a 20,000-strong rally in Sofia, by organizations of private entrepreneurs and by local opposition organizations throughout the country.

Opposition Rejects Alleged U.S. Expansionism

AU1705165591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 11 May 91 p 1

[Petko Bocharov commentary: "The Perfidy Is Infinite"]

[Text] Devious allegations have recently been circulating. Some people are trying to manipulate us. In what way? They are trying to do so by spreading certain specific rumors, but they are always carefully avoiding getting directly involved. They usually speak through the mouths of third persons. They present us with quotations, they cite statements or newspaper articles. Considering that a great deal seems to be at stake, the appropriate quotations from various articles and statements must be found. As a matter of fact, you can find anything you like in the world press, provided you make the effort of digging into it. The manner of citing certain passages, however, is also part of the attempts at manipulating people's moods. This also involves considerable malice. Following this, the story in question was summarized, which does not guarantee that the summary is accurate, while the whole report is not signed, it is not published in the name of the respective editorial board, but in the name of a fictional source of information that does not really exist.

Nevertheless, let us go back to our initial subject. Through their main press service certain political forces (a communist cliche that seems very appropriate in this particular context) are trying to cast doubts on our country's rapidly improving relations with the United States. Is it not quite evident which forces I am talking about? It is also quite obvious which press service I have in mind. This particular newspaper is trying to be specially cunning, although its intentions are quite transparent.

This is what they are trying to convince us of: The Americans are allegedly eager to dominate Bulgaria. They are trying to conquer us by infiltration from the inside. Having suddenly realized our country's strategic importance for their plans of expanding and consolidating their influence on the Balkans, and throughout the eastern Mediterranean generally speaking, the United States has allegedly decided to sacrifice us to the Turks. It intends to intertwine our economy with the economic system of Turkey so we may be placed under double control. The Americans would not permit us to join Europe, considering that the struggle between Washington and the EEC is already under way behind the scene and the competition between the two powers is expected to be inexorable. Generally speaking, this can be described as a malicious allegation.

The other allegation is that the Americans have their agents in our country. Some of them allegedly belong to the present state leadership, others are involved in our foreign policy, while some trade union leaders are also agents. Such insinuations suggest that current relations between the president's office and the government are not the best, and there is even more: According to the

aforementioned allegations both sides are pulling in different directions (the idea being that Mr. Popov is leaning toward Europe, while Mr. Zhelev is leaning toward the United States). This is followed by another malicious insinuation, namely that nothing the Americans give us is free of charge, that their entire assistance is linked to political conditions, that they are minding their own interests, and that their good will to assist us is not worth a penny.

The utter nonsense of the allegations is obvious to all those who are somewhat familiar with recent developments in this respect. Nevertheless, the manipulators do not address their perfidious allegations to those who are well informed and familiar with the matter. Their objective is to deceive the uninformed and ignorant people.

The subject I am dealing with could also be treated under its humorous aspects, because such aspects really exist, but the problem of our country's future is so crucial and urgent that it simply forces us to adopt a serious approach to the devious manipulations of those who are responsible for Bulgaria's national disaster. The perfidy and arrogance of this kind of people are really bottomless. I think that in spreading rumors about the American infiltration, those "certain political forces" are actually trying to create a favorable atmosphere for an easier acceptance of the new bilateral treaty with the former great brother is currently in the process of being drafted. As we hear, the draft of the aforementioned treaty is supposed to include a clause restricting our national sovereignty.

Opposition Continues Sit-In at Lovech Council

AU1605103891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 May 91

[Vaska Khristova report from Lovech]

[Text] The sit-in that started yesterday in the Lovech Oblast People's Council building was still continuing at 0600 this morning. The sit-in, which was organized by the united opposition in the town and supported by the opposition political forces in the oblast, calls for a legitimate provisional administration of the Lovech Oblast People's Council.

Today the building is surrounded by two cordons: the first has been set up by the organizers of the sit-in, and the second by the units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

At about 0700 a minor incident occurred, but happily things quickly calmed down. At the moment everything is quiet. In contrast to yesterday, today no employees are being allowed to enter the building.

The Lovech District Prosecutor's Office has declared the opposition's actions to be unlawful. At 0900 Prosecutor Kiril Petrov sent a message to Engineer Vasil Vitanov, chairman of the Lovech Oblast interim administration, in which he suggested that the Executive Committee of Lovech Oblast People's Council should issue an order to stop the sit-in. At the moment talks are under way in Lovech, and a special session of the Provisional Executive Committee has been called for 1400, in which representatives of all the political forces and the regional directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will take part.

State Clamps Down on Illegal Profiteering

AU1705080291 Sofia BTA in English 2047 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 16 (BTA)—In keeping with the Anti-profiteering Act private, cooperative and state outlets in Sofia and many other towns were inspected. Private dealers are vending their wares mainly in the streets.

Experts of the task groups have noticed a new development in the transition to a market economy: Breaking down under the weight of high interest rates, state commercial organizations prefer a partnership with private dealers, who sell at stiff prices.

Mr. Aleksandur Aleksandrov, spokesman of the Regional Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vratsa, said that the inspections which were carried out were more like a cosmetic measure targeted at cleansing the surface of illicit trade. No one has probed into its mechanism yet. He points out reasons such as the imperfect legislation, the chaos in the conditions of the economic reform, shortages and the internal contradictions between employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the investigating authorities and the Prosecutor's Office. "The Anti-Profiteering Act was drawn up in a period of transition and many of its provisions are no longer topical. But it would be better if it became unnecessary instead of altering it," he wished.

Havel on Arms Industry Conversion

LD1605151791 Prague CTK in English 2146 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 15 (CTK)—"We must admit to ourselves that we simply will not be able to sell heavy arms and that conversion is really necessary", Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said today in Slovakia, Czechoslovakia's eastern republic where most of the country's arms industry is based.

The president was speaking to journalists at the close of a one-day working visit to Slovakia.

Asked about the planned sale of Czechoslovak tanks to Syria and a U.S. protest against it, he said the case had been good for something. "We cannot rely on being able to produce tanks for ever and finding a buyer every time", he said.

The president said his visit today did not confirm the "catastrophic visions" of growing unemployment in Slovakia. Alleviating fears that conversion of the arms industry is raising joblessness he said the number of unemployed paradoxically is the lowest in areas with large concentrations of arms production and few substitute job opportunities.

High unemployment in Slovakia (5 per cent against 2 per cent in the Czech republic) "is not caused by specifics of the Slovak landscape, Slovak character or the Slovak nation, but by specifics of the communist regime which distributed strategic production in this way", Havel said.

He was very satisfied with his meetings with Slovak politicians and described his talks on the drafting of the federal and Czech and Slovak constitutions and an agreement between the Slovak and Czech republics as "very important and interesting". "The differences are not so big as they might seem from a distance", he said.

He noted that representatives of all the political forces he met were inclined to accept the idea of finalising a Slovak-Czech treaty or agreement prior to the adoption of all three constitutions. They also agreed it would be better to pass the federal constitution before those of the republics. He did not rule out an agreement on the content of a document between the Czech and Slovak sides within three weeks. It should be adopted as soon as possible so that there will be enough time to draft the federal and republic constitutions, havel said.

Commentary on Arms Exports, U.S. Relations

AU1605100591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 May 91 p 2

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "Words and Tanks"]

[Text] If nothing else, it is our problems with the conversion of the armament industry in Slovakia that caused our government, headed by Prime Minister Calfa, to unexpectedly raise objections against our newfound friend—the United States. In the lion's den we also managed to say no to our little friend—Israel. Charter 77's warning has changed nothing.

Is the sharp tone of Czechoslovakia's negative response to the United States' and Israel's demand to discontinue the planned exports of tanks to Syria a sign of something more permanent in our foreign policy toward these countries? Or, is it only an opportunistic decision provoked by something other than the proclaimed goodwill to export love instead of tanks?

The latter seems more likely to me. When we drew attention in RUDE PRAVO on 17 April to the fact that the United States confidentially—but in a strict manner—protested twice to Czechoslovak officials against the planned export of tanks to Syria and Iran, the answer was the usual silence.

The mass media did not notice our report, yet they noted the friendly tone of the telephone conversation between Presidents Bush and Havel about conversion. It seemed as though the United States had great understanding for our problems and that RUDE PRAVO missed the target when it carried a report on the real American attitude.

However, Meciar was recalled from his function later on and demonstrations and strikes began in Slovakia. It became impossible for the new Slovak Government—as well as for the old Federal Government—to give in to the silent insistence of the Americans without losing face vis-a-vis a resolute Meciar. This is why it was necessary to communicate to Washington that the tanks will be sold to Syria nonetheless. There are no more friendly telephone calls, but diplomatic notes are being exchanged. If this is the price for respect and independent decisionmaking, then why not?

The question of what to do with conversion still remains. Of course, a few hundred million dollars in nonrefundable grants would help. After all, American industry will not lose out by the absence of competitors. However, as it seems, only an American adviser is to come to our country instead. It seems that tank production will continue in Slovakia, if there is a market for them.

Havel Views Slovakia's Unemployment Problem

LD1605081191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 May 91

[Excerpts] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel was on a working visit to Bratislava today. [passage omitted] Vaclav Havel's afternoon agenda opened with his visit to the job office of the Slovak capital Bratislava. My colleagues Magda Pospisilova and Zuzana Stukovska waited for him there. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Pospisilova] In the Bratislava job center, President of the Republic Vaclav Havel was accompanied by Helena Wolekova, [Slovak minister of labor and social affairs], whom we asked two questions.

Your federal colleague, Minister Miller, said that the unemployment situation in Slovakia is much worse than envisaged. It is said that for some two or three months the Slovak Government will have no funds to pay unemployment benefits. Do you also regard this situation as so very critical?

[Wolekova] I think that the situation is not as critical as Minister Miller has said. I have immediately asked that several variants be drawn up on the development of unemployment and consequently of financial requirements representing material backup for the applicants, so when I get back it will be on my desk. However, so far we have drawn from this year's budget 21 percent, which is one-fifth of the budget, while four months, or one-third of the year has expired. Thus the development so far is not at all catastrophic. I am speaking from the viewpoint of finance, I do not mean the the moral and psychological impact on people who are losing their jobs. [passage omitted]

[Pospisilova] Late in the afternoon President Vaclav Havel met reporters at Bratislava Castle for a friendly afternoon snack. We took the opportunity to ask Mr. President about his own view of unemployment in Slovakia immediately after his visit to the Bratislava job center. Is there any likelihood that Minister Miller's prognosis that in two or three months we shall have no funds to pay unemployment benefits could come true?

[Havel] The visit itself did not at all confirm this kind of catastrophic vision. Figures do not indicate any threat of this kind. It is even turning out that in the regions that are said to be under the most severe threat, for example in the places of arms production concentration where there are few alternative job openings, or so on, from what I was told it ensued that, paradoxically, in these places unemployment is lowest. It seems to me that the job centers' structure is good. I received a detailed briefing on the way regarding the office I visited and also the entire network function. When one considers that this is a novelty in our society, that it is something new, then it seems to me that it is well organized, for this structure knows what to do, it knows what it is after and it considers things in broader contexts. From what I understood, saw, and heard there, it is definitely not apparent that a collapse will occur the day after tomorrow and that unemployment benefits in particular will be its casualty. The way state budgets are compiled, they take into account a certain percentage of unemployed. So far we are not nearing the critical percentage. But if—God forbid—we went over the top, we would have to restructure the state budget and the republican budgets a little. Let us hope that this will not happen, because it would be rather severe interference into the entire structure of the steps of the reform. [end recording]

SDL Government Ability To Handle Unemployment

AU1605114891 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 14 (CTK)—Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) in Slovakia (former communists), today wondered how the Czechoslovak Government will cope with unemployment if it exceeds the expected 4.2 percent this year.

Speaking at a press conference here today, Weiss also doubted the government will be capable of funding unemployment benefits next year as production in the major branches of the national economy continues to decline, agricultural cooperatives are threatened with disintegration and the number of the jobless may further grow.

Weiss recalled that a recent poll carried out by the Prague-based Public Opinion Research Institute showed that 55 percent of the population are living in a state of acute shortage.

Michal Borgula, SDL deputy to the federal parliament, responded to yesterday's prediction of Czech communists that the Czechoslovak economy will collapse within two months. (The prediction was made at a press conference given by the Czech Communist Party.) Borgula said that though it is not possible to make such predictions, the state of the Czechoslovak economy is really bad. In Slovakia, some factories may be forced to close down.

Weiss also spoke about the issue of screening in Slovakia, the aim of which is to expose collaborators of the former secret police (StB). He said the SDL is not opposed to the screening of deputies to the Slovak and Federal parliaments, but is against the abuse of the results for political ends.

Klaus: Country's Key Problem Loss of Markets

AU1605114591 Prague CTK in English 0759 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Washington May 14 (CTK)—The key problem of Czechoslovakia's economic reform is the loss of markets for Czechoslovak goods, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus has told the Overseas Writers Association here.

Klaus also defended Czechoslovak arms sales, pointed out that Czechoslovakia is not the chief arms exporter to the Middle East and said he was surprised by so much fuss about exports of Czechoslovak tanks (to Syria). According to Reuters, Klaus said Prague needed to sell its arms production and was not doing anything that many other countries had not done.

Klaus also expressed disappointment over insufficient Western support for Czechoslovakia's economic reform

saying that his country was desperate for foreign investment to help build a market system and that U.S. aid to Prague was minimal when compared with its aid to Poland and the Soviet Union.

Klaus told a CTK correspondent here that the United States will undoubtedly try to urge Western Europe to open itself to Czechoslovak exports.

Dobrovsky on Defense Bill Amendments

LD1605093991 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 May 91

[Excerpts] The second working day of the 15th joint session of both chambers of the Federal Assembly has ended. [passage omitted]

[Reporter Bohus Gecy] Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky was probably one of the busiest men in the Federal Assembly today. Mr. Minister, you have submitted three bills or rather amendments. What was the subject of the changes and what will be their significance for our Army? [passage omitted]

[Dobrovsky] The third bill was not, in fact, discussed by the Federal Assembly, and it was decided to have new legislation. It passed the bill that abolished the whole law on defense education. No debate was actually conducted in this respect.

As for the other two bills, or rather their amendments, well, because our goal is to professionalize the Army, we had to create prerequisites for this. Our goal is a more thorough democratization and humanization of the Army, and for this, too, we had to create prerequisites. This is the purpose of the amendments to these laws. As far as the defense law is concerned, in this respect we had a very important reason, which has come to light mainly in connection with some task the Army had to carry out due to the threat arising from the war in the Persian Gulf. It was necessary to incorporate into the defense law clauses that make it possible for Czechoslovak Army members to better guard facilities of special importance against possible terrorist attacks. And we incorporated this into the bill. It would be impossible to list other amendments, there is a whole number of them and they affect many clauses. Thus there are many humanizing changes in the sphere of disciplinary punishment, in the possibilities of appeal, and recruitment procedures. The options have been broadened. These amendments will be of temporary validity, because we are drafting new legislation. [passage omitted]

Further on Havel's Visit to Bratislava

LD1505212591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1716 GMT 15 May 91

[Magda Pospisilova and Zuzana Stukowska report on news conference by President Vaclav Havel with unidentified reporters at Bratislava Castle on 15 May—recorded. Havel answers in Czech]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, could we return to your [word indistinct] at the Slovak National Council? Do you think, after what you have talked about with the deputies, that there will be another attempt at reconstructing the Presidium of the Slovak National Council?

[Havel] We did not talk at all about the possibility of reconstructing the Presidium of the Slovak National Council. Nobody brought this subject up, and among the representatives of various political parties there was such a friendly and businesslike atmosphere there that it did not occur to me at all that someone would have the idea to reconstruct the Presidium. If this was to be the topic, it would have to at least be reflected in the atmosphere to a certain extent, but there was nothing like that present there.

[Reporter] In the morning, President Vaclav Havel received new members of the Slovak Government at Bratislava Castle. Asked by Radiojournal with which Slovak prime minister he cooperated better—the current Jan Carnogursky or former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—Vaclav Havel said:

[Havel] This is a very [word indistinct] question. Look here, if one finds himself in the world of so-called high politics, he will learn quickly a thing or two. One such thing is that it is not suitable for one to assess one's colleagues—politicians saying this one is better, this one is worse, I like so and so, I do not like so and so that much, I can talk better with this one, I get on badly with that one—simply, this is not done. I always talk with those politicians who are simply in their posts; I may find that I get on better with one or the other, but as Lenin said, we must work regardless.

[Reporter] Journalists were also interested in the president's view on the so-called minority government which, in fact, has emerged in Slovakia due to reconstruction. Asked whether or not this will influence further development in Slovakia, Vaclav Havel said:

[Havel] It remains to be seen whether or not it will influence it. So far, no crisis situation has developed. For example, at lunch today, Mr. ('Precansky) spoke on behalf of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia; he talked in a very businesslike and constructive manner—he even said some things that I liked very much and I immediately took to them—one simply could not see that some mighty opposition emerged there that would be dangerous to the government. Naturally, I cannot predict how the situation will develop further. We will see if and when the Slovak National Council discusses some important bills, but so far I personally have not noticed or encountered that the formation of this platform and the fact that it is not represented in the government—two ministers are still there—that it would block the work of the government. I have not seen a signal like that.

[Reporter] What does the president think would happen if the Czech side continued to delay accepting the Czech constitution. Consequently, a situation could arise in the

Slovak National Council where the Slovak legislature will adopt a Slovak constitution.

[Havel] It follows from what has been said at this joint lunch that numerous political parties believe that first this treaty or agreement should be completed, and only then the three constitutions should be adopted. These parties also believe that it would be better to adopt the republics' constitutions after the federal one. This way the republics will already know what state-legislative form the federation will take and will be able to integrate this into their constitution. This view prevailed at the lunch. I noted a slightly different view only in the representative of the Slovak National Council, but even he did not say literally that the agreement should not precede the republics' constitutions and that the republics' constitution should be first and only then we will see what to do next. He did not say that.

Your question implies that if anybody slows down the adoption of the agreement, it would be the Czechs. Well, I do not know. The Czechs themselves put forward their first proposal, which was very carefully studied here in Slovakia, groups of experts have been set up to work on this. Clubs that are not in the government or coalition are also represented in these groups to make sure that the Slovak standpoint is as comprehensive as possible, that it represents all political forces, and that a political consensus is achieved. It is difficult to say at the moment whether this will be a success. However, it is being worked on and Prime Minister Carnogursky reported to me on this. It is possible that in a fortnight or perhaps three weeks, when the next meeting will be organized in which both the Czech and the Slovak side will take part, both sides might agree on the content of this text. However, it is also possible that they will not agree, and the matter will have to be discussed at further political talks. It is also possible that once these political talks end and an agreement is reached, then the problems will arise again in the legislature. Nevertheless, if a political consensus is reached between all involved parties, it is naturally a greater probability that it will be accepted by the legislature. I personally believe that this legal act should be adopted early to provide sufficient time for the adoption of the republics' constitutions and the constitution of the federation. This will also provide a basic guideline for the adoption of the three constitutions. For various reasons, I do not think it would be a good preparation of the base of the state if the so-called pure constitution of the Slovak Republic were adopted as though it was an independent state and the constitutional law that the Slovak Republic is a part of the federation were created as an addendum to the Slovak constitution. It does not look to me as though this would be a pure constitution.

[Reporter] Here is the last of almost 30 questions by our fellow journalists that we have selected for you. Is there a difference between 14 March and 15 May this year? What would The president think today about taking a stroll around Bratislava?

[Havel] If I have time, I will be quite happy to take a walk. I am not afraid. It should be said, however, that my experience on 15 March was very unconventional. My other experiences with Slovakia have been extremely good. People have a friendly attitude toward me and, on the whole, I cannot complain about the public hating me. There was a very special concentration of people in the square who not only dislike the federation and would like to see an independent Slovakia—well why should they not—but there were people who showed peculiar aggressive inclinations and who proclaimed anti-Semitism and so on. For me personally it was an unconventional experience. Although wherever I go, when people know I am due to turn up and when they gather there to see me and greet me, it may be the case that all of them give me a friendly welcome while there is at least one person who carries a banner against me and who chants: Enough of Havel. These are single cases, however. There is never such a concentration of them as was in the square on that occasion. Sometimes, when I hear the chants, Enough of Havel, I feel like saying: This is what I have been thinking for some time.

Land Bill Goes Back to Committees

AU1605104591 Prague CTK in English 2119 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Prague May 15 (CTK)—The Land Bill is being returned to the economic committees of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) before it will come again before the full houses, deputies learned at the start of the 15th parliamentary session today.

The bill, one of five that are crucial for the Czechoslovak economic reform, was rejected by the parliament at its previous session because of disagreement over who would be eligible for owning and working the land now used by cooperative farms. The bill is to be presented to the current session, scheduled to last two weeks.

A bill on the Czechoslovak news agency (CTK), which failed to pass one of the two Federal Assembly houses at the parliament's last session, is being sent back to the social and cultural committees and will not be taken up until the next full parliamentary session in June.

The only legislation approved today was the law on compensation paid on the termination of employment because of company reorganization or restructuring. The lump sum compensation will be equivalent to double the employee's monthly wage. The law will go into effect next month.

The parliament rejected a bill on strategic planning for the third time, in effect scrapping it because bills must be passed within five months of their presentation and in this case the period expires next Monday. The bill, proposed by Milos Zeman, a centrist, was rejected by members of the right-wing parties.

In a commentary calling the bill a "strategic error", today's issue of the daily LIDOVE NOVINY criticized

the legislation and warned against allowing "those who do not have direct responsibility for management to plan on behalf of enterprises."

[Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 15 May on page 1, under the headline "A Session With a Hesitant Opening," publishes a 600-word report on the above meeting of the parliament, in which the "sc"-signed author comments on the lamentable standard demonstrated by the deputies in the opening discussion, which he illustrates by the following example: "Among other things a request by People's Chamber Deputy Vitazoslav Moric (SNS) [Slovak National Party] was voiced: 'I do not want to sit next to Deputy Molnar [recently appointed representative of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement]'"]

Federal Assembly Reopens With Land Bill Debate

AU1605115291 Prague CTK in English 1016 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Prague May 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) deputies will renew debate on the land bill and on a Federal Government report on economic policy at the 15th joint session of the parliament's House of the People and House of Nations, which opens here today. [14 May]

The House of Nations failed to pass the land bill during the last parliamentary session (March 19-April 5). The economic report was presented to parliament by Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa at that session.

Also discussed will be new reports on environmental problems and the Federal Government's social policy.

A bill on holding referendums, which was submitted to the previous parliamentary session by the Czechoslovak Presidential Office, will not be on the agenda of the current session. It will be discussed at the 16th joint session in June 1991. Linked with the referendum question is the issue of Czechoslovakia's future state setup and three new constitutions (federal, Czech and Slovak). The Czech and the Slovak National Councils (parliaments) will discuss proposals on the new Czechoslovak setup this month.

The parliament will also discuss a bill on the Federal Security and Information Service.

The parliamentary Commission Investigating the November 1989 Events (which led to the collapse of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia) will submit a final report on the screening of parliamentary deputies.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal 'In Its Last Stage'

LD1605092991 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops is in its last stage; it will be completed as planned by 30 June. This was announced at a meeting with journalists by Major General Karel Pezl, new commander of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak Army. By now all tanks, artillery and launching equipment, combat aircraft and helicopters have left our territory. What remains are 1,206 trucks, four infantry combat vehicles, and 4,332 personnel—the last 6 percent of their original number. The weapons should be transported at the end of May; in June legal and commercial issues will be settled.

Years Needed to Assess Soviet Army's Impact

LD1605093291 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Prague May 15 (CTK)—Environmental and economic damage caused by the Soviet Army on Czechoslovak territory since the 1968 invasion is put at 2,000 million crowns [korunas] but the real figure is almost five times higher, Federal Minister of Control Kvetoslava Korinkova told journalists here today.

She said it will take several years to make a precise assessment because the necessary data are not yet available.

Soviet troops are to be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia by the end of June. 4,500 soldiers and 2,200 civilians of the original 73,500 troops are currently in the country.

Slovak Government 7 May Session Reported

AU1605104891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 May 91 pp 1, 2

[CTK and A. Melicharkova report: "How Much Do We Have and What Are We Going To Pay For?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] **Communique From the Session**

Yesterday the Slovak Government dealt with the draft law—presented by the Federal Government—on the CSFR police corps. By accepting the proposed law with comments, and by accepting the National Councils' law on the Czech Republic police corps and the Slovak Republic police corps, lawfulness will be strengthened and security for civilians—as well as for the police—will be improved.

The government discussed the draft amendment to the law on compensation for the loss of wages following a disability due to a labor accident or to an occupational disease. The draft regulates the percentage of the average amount of wages from which the benefits will be calculated. The increase is the government's reaction to the changes in the development of prices.

For legal and constitutional reasons, the government did not agree with the draft CSFR [Government] ruling that defines import or export items and requires a license for participating in foreign trade. It entrusted the minister of trade and tourism with the preparation of the Slovak

Government's draft order on this matter. It noted the federal program of active employment policy, unemployment benefits, and development of small businesses, which mostly draws from the experience of Great Britain. Britain is also offering assistance from the Know How fund during the implementation of this program.

The Environment

The government noted the federal draft for the state program for the protection of the environment that should be presented at a CSFR Government session. The program is a contribution to the solution of our European as well as global ecological problems. It points to the most important problems, defines priorities during their solutions, and designates projects subsidized from the state budget. The government agreed with the CSFR Government report about the reduction of the emission of harmful substances from the coal power plants, and it provided more details on the formulation of some tasks and on technical and economic data about desulfurization in the Novaky power plant. [passage omitted]

How We Administered Our Wealth

The government noted the report about the main trends in development in the Slovak Republic's national economy in 1990 and its prediction for the first six months of 1991. It stated that the development of the Slovak economy was negatively influenced by deteriorating external and internal conditions. Development in 1991 is continuing in a similar way. If the elements of macroeconomic regulation do not change substantially, we can expect a further continuous decline in basic sectors of the economy. The largest anticipated decline is in civil engineering, in state enterprises in particular. The unemployment rate will also rise, possibly reaching 6 to 7 percent by the end of June of this year. The cost of living will likely break the 50-percent limit, due mainly to the growth in energy prices.

Yesterday, the government accepted the guarantee for the credit provided to the Bohunice nuclear power plant, attaining 875 million korunas for an investment with the purpose of increasing the safety of the V-1 block.

Nineteen Projects

The government agreed with the memorandum on consensus and cooperation in the environmental protection sphere between the CSFR and the Swiss Confederation. Seven projects for Slovakia were included in the overall list of 19 projects for the first stage of the solution to the problem of environmental protection. The government consented to the preliminary implementation of the Agreement on Support and Mutual Protection of Investments signed between the CSFR and FRG on 2 October 1990. Five important FRG investors asked the government for this consent.

Yesterday the government approved assistance to Kurdish refugees from the budgetary reserves of the Slovak Republic Government for 1991, amounting to 1 million korunas. It consented to Slovakia's regular membership in the Working Association of the Danube Regions, whose members are Bavaria, Vienna, Upper and Lower Austria, seven Hungarian provinces, Serbia, and Moldavia.

The government noted with comments the draft CSFR Government resolution on returning the property of the Socialist Youth Union to the people of the CSFR and its utilization by children and young people. From the numerous comments on the original draft, the most important one is the comment that property acquired from the Czech Republic budget will be given to the Czech Republic and property acquired from Slovak Republic resources will be given to the Slovak Republic.

The government appointed Eng. Mikulas Michelcik (49 years old) deputy minister of forestry and water economy. It appointed Bartolomej Kunc, LL.D., chief of the Slovak Republic Government Office (63 years old).

Oberhauser Speaks for Slovak Economic Sovereignty

AU1605113291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 8 May on page 1, under the headline "Potato Theory of Coexistence," publishes a 350-word installment of an interview with Viliam Oberhauser, Slovak Republic minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood-processing industry, by SLOVENSKY DENNIK reporter Alica Durianova. In the interview the minister reacts to an interview with Federal Prime Minister Calfa—specifically on the topic of the economic division of the state—carried by MLADA FRONTA DNES on 6 May. The interview with Minister Oberhauser, the place and date of which are not given, is concluded by a 700-word sequel in Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 13 May on page 2, under the headline "Mr. Prime Minister, That Is a Complete Misunderstanding."

In the first part of the interview, Oberhauser describes the warnings of some politicians, not only the Czech ones, that the economic program presented by the Christian Democratic Movement would mean having "customs" posts on the Czech-Slovak border as well as "banknote stamping and setting different economic regulations" for the Czech Republic and for Slovakia as "ridiculous." "Our goal," he says, "is nothing more that conforming to the name of a common economy. We want all significant issues to be dealt with jointly, upon a mutual agreement."

In the second part of the interview, Oberhauser emphasizes the need to differentiate between sovereignty and independence. "What we have always wanted," he says, "is sovereignty." He goes on to say that it is not an independent army or their own currency that they want but a "transparent economy." Economic relations, according to him, must be clearly defined and "commanded by two principles: that of subsidiarity and that

of solidarity." The first is explained as preventing usurpation of all power by the federal bodies. All decisions should be made at the level at which they would be most effective, Oberhauser continues. The principle of solidarity, he says, means that the social and ecological aspects should be considered in every decision.

The final point Oberhauser makes is that the cost of double representation abroad, against which Calfa spoke, could be offset by more effective management of the space and staff of the current representation.

Meciar Comments on Slovak Government, Economy

LD1605091891 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 May 91

[Interview with Vladimir Meciar, Movement for Democratic Slovakia chairman and former Slovak prime minister, by Jan Janosik in Bratislava on 15 May—recorded]

[Text] [Janosik] Mr. Chairman, at yesterday's session the Slovak Republic Government considered the report on the progress and coordination of economic reform, which was submitted by Mr. Rudolf Filkus. This situation is quite paradoxical, because Mr. Filkus is from the opposition movement, from the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Do you feel that you were deemed right, though in an indirect way?

[Meciar] Since the government discusses and endorses the materials that were drawn by us and for which we were criticized, then this means they have in fact rehabilitated us. The Slovak National Council did not have reasons to take this course of action; it has no people capable of elaborating, implementing, and developing this kind of material in Slovakia. It is evident that they do not wish to give up a minister from our movement either, although they pushed the movement as a whole into the opposition and did not even give us a chance to express our view on our own fate and on (?events) on the political scene.

[Janosik] Mr. Meciar, as Slovak prime minister you were trying to gain as many powers as possible for the Slovak Republic....

[Meciar] The way I read the situation is that all federal bodies and the Czech republican bodies have commenced a (?mass) offensive aimed at our dropping the power demands. In essence this constitutes a return to the old system, either partial or complete, but I would rather say a complete one. Because the one who is in charge in the new conditions is not the one who manages the ministries, but the one who controls taxes, customs, and charges, or the indirect tools of economic management, and these are under federal authority. This means that the federal bodies are to get an even bigger slice of the pie, which represents a detour from everything that has happened so far. As far as the present government's attitude to this problem is concerned, even though Mr. Carnogursky said the federation will not get powers, it appears that we shall be aiming our efforts in an opposite direction. Some of the pronouncements made by him that society would go into a civil war if development took this course indicate that, from the long-term viewpoint, he is paving a way for a retreat.

[Janosik] Our attention was focused at Lany last Friday in a hope to learn a little more on the drafting of constitutions. As far as I know, the journalists covering the meeting learned nothing, and in addition I feel that (?they) were not happy, either.

[Meciar] There was not much to be learned. The two sides basically stood their ground. The Czech side maintained the trends toward a unitary state, while the Slovak side defended at least that which exists here today. I was not present at the talks, but as far as I know there was such a turn of events in the afternoon that threatened the departure of the delegations. They continued their talks afterwards, but the only conclusion they arrived at was that either an agreement or a treaty would materialize. However, nothing was done in terms of its content or schedule, and I think this is a situation that requires a broader political spectrum and that the limits of Mr. President's options are being exhausted.

[Janosik] There are more than 120,000 unemployed in Slovakia at present. What is the significance of this fact from your view point?

[Meciar] This is not a final figure, because this figure will go up sharply after dropouts and graduates leave schools. Furthermore, other negative effects will appear in the second half of the year. This fact means the government is neglecting the aspects that should have been tackled already and that should have been on the agenda of its last sessions; we are getting into the situation where the funds earmarked for unemployment benefits will not be sufficient. The entire budget will have to be reallocated; many items will have to be changed, and the Slovak National Council must approve these policies. Thus, by the end of this year the social situation in Slovakia will markedly worsen, and this government—in the present composition and with the present political backing and policy—is unable to face these situations.

[Janosik] When will the Movement for Democratic Slovakia reach its full strength?

[Meciar] I think by the end of the year it will be developed to such a degree that it will be able to meet its task. After the end of June, however, we shall definitely be stronger, because we shall have our own charter, policy, and proper elected bodies. At that point our might will be greater than it has been so far.

Meciar: Czechs, Slovaks Not Ready for Agreement

LD1605085491 Prague CTK in English 2058 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Bratislava May 15 (CTK)—Former Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar told journalists today that the Czech and

Slovak stands regarding the future existence of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks "are growing wider apart". The two sides are not sufficiently ready for an agreement, especially because of the present stand taken by the Czech Government, said Meciar, now chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS). He was dismissed as Slovak premier by the Slovak National Council (parliament) Presidium on April 23.

Meciar alleged that the Czech side is for a "rigid" federation while the Slovak representation favours a looser union. Unlike previously, the Czech Government's stand is now based on ultimatums, its philosophically inflexible and fails to reflect the existing situation in Czechoslovakia, he said. He believes that political accord must be reached and it must receive support from a wide political spectrum. If it does not, it will be called into question by political bodies chosen in the next elections.

Meciar, whose HZDS movement has 17 members in the federal parliament, said that failure to discuss all possible options for the country's future constitutional setup would "lay the foundations for economic and political problems in Slovakia and Slovakia's instability for several years to come". Meciar advocated public discussion on the constitutions currently being drawn up.

Meciar said a concerted attack has been launched on the power-sharing law approved last December. He called it unacceptable to discard this law defining the division of powers between the federation and the Czech and Slovak Republics before its content and purpose have been fulfilled.

Antall, Kupa on Cooperation with Israel

LD1605100191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0445 GMT 16 May 91

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Government delegation led by Jozsef Antall arrived home from Israel last night. My colleague Gabor Kereszti was waiting for them at the airport and managed to interview them; first is the conversation with the prime minister.

[Begin recording] [Kereszti] How do you assess your Israeli visit?

[Antall] It was an extraordinarily successful visit—at least this is how the Israeli and other sides have assessed it. I think that it was important, under any circumstances, that a high level government delegation (?was there) in Israel to further relations. [passage omitted]

[Kereszti] President Herzog will travel to Hungary in June while you, during negotiations with Prime Minister Shamir, reviewed the possibilities of expanding relations. What can be expected in the future development of bilateral relations?

[Antall] Various cooperation, projects, joint ventures, and investments may take place. We discussed foreign policy issues which are, by the way, important from every aspect, because although the distance appears great, the Middle East is nonetheless organically linked to the European region, whether in terms of energy sources or other market viewpoints. This again is very important for us under any circumstances. We must view things realistically—by saying this I refer to the fact that Hungarian-Israeli trade is presently—last year it was $50 million—naturally in terms of scale our Arab and Iran relations, taken all together, amount to nearly $1 billion. [sentence as heard] Despite this, I think that trade with Israel is important, in any case, from an economic and political viewpoint, and rather significant international firms and financial circles are interested in this.

[Kereszti] Now, details about the economic possibilities. Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa was also a member of the delegation. [passage omitted]

[Kupa] One thing is that Hungarian-Israeli trade, which is around $50 million now and has improved very dynamically, may be roughly doubled within a very short time. The second thing is what Finance Minister Modai said, that Israel is just as poor in capital as Hungary—she expects 1 million immigrants within three years, and so on—thus it can hardly be expected that capital from Israel will effectively flow to Hungary. What can be expected is rather that Israeli financial circles—which still rank among the leading financial circles of the world—will obtain financing if there is a good Hungarian idea, if there is an investment possibility, they will get the financing not from Israel but from the United States, France, Canada, and so on. So this is what may be expected. This is what we agreed on really, that we should not syphon off capital at each other's expense, but that we should try to find joint financial forms. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ministry Announces Energy Price Increases

LD1705083491 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] From the beginning of next month the prices of domestic coal and coal products will go up by an average of 170 percent and the price of natural mains gas by 50 percent. According to a statement from the Ministry for Industry and Commerce, the price of central heating and hot water provision will also go up uniformly by 70 percent.

The Ministry for Social Welfare announced that in parallel with the price increases, social support will also be increased. In the next cold weather season, around 400,000 families will receive energy coupons which will compensate for half of the price increases.

Central heating will be turned on again in Budapest today, according to information provided by the Metropolitan Central Heating Works. The population will not have to pay for the heating for the weekend. If the cold weather continues, a separate assessment will be made of the charges to be paid.

Zloty Devalued by 14.4 Percent

LD1705072691 Warsaw PAP in English 0040 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 16—The Council of Ministers announced that, with effect from May 17, the zloty would be revalued at 11,100 to the dollar. The change to the exchange rate, an effective devaluation of 14.4 percent, is the first since the introduction of the programme of economic reform in January 1990.

The Council of Ministers also announced that, with effect from May 20, the exchange rate for the zloty would be calculated in relation to a basket of convertible currencies, more closely reflecting the pattern of Poland's foreign trade.

Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz told reporters that the sharp recent rise in the value of the dollar against Western European currencies had complicated the situation for Polish exports, particularly to the European Community. The new exchange rate would improve the profitability of Polish exports, and make Polish products more competitive against imports.

He claimed that the impact of devaluation on Polish inflation would be minimal, and that the government had not abandoned its policy of exchange rate stability.

Introducing the new method of calculating the exchange rate, National Bank of Poland (NBP) President Grzegorz Wojtowicz said that the basket of currencies would be weighted on the following basis: the dollar (45 percent), the German mark (35 percent), the British pound (10 percent) and the French and Swiss francs (5 percent each).

Leszek Balcerowicz emphasised that the present situation was crucial for the further development of the reform process. Internal and external conditions had forced the government to reassess Poland's economic performance. Domestic restructuring was proving more difficult than had been forseen, particularly in making state enterprises more responsive to market forces.

Externally, the reform programme had been affected by the worsening foreign trade conditions following the collapse of Poland's Soviet markets, and unfavourable trends in the dollar exchange-rate.

The Council of Ministers later issued a policy document, "government intentions in the sphere of economic restructuring", which is to be presented to the Sejm (lower house) for discussion. The document outlines specific plans covering structural and organisational reforms of Polish business and finance, an anti-unemployment programme, support for small businesses, an attack on monopolies and ineffective enterprises, and a rationalisation of the state administration.

Telephones to Copper Basin Cut; Strike Continues

LD1605102391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0901 GMT 16 May 91

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Lubin]

[Text] All telephone connections to the entire copper basin were cut during the night. It transpires from the latest information that the seat of the interfactory strike committee of the copper basin miners has been moved to the Rudna-Glowna mine. The interfactory strike committee and strike committees in particular mines have assumed executive powers. The managers have been removed from power in every mine. The management is ready to talk, and the talks were due to begin at 0900.

Senate Rejects Administration Unit in Lithuania

LD1605090491 Warsaw PAP in English 1821 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 15—The Senate (upper chamber) did not support proposals presented by Polish deputies to Lithuanian parliament who suggested that Poland should participate in working out the status of the Vilnius region as a separate Polish administation unit.

Ryszard Maciejkianiec and Zbigniew Balcewicz discussed the situation of Poles in Lithuania at today's meeting of the Senate Committee for Foreign Affairs and Expatriate Poles.

Members of the committee were against linking the signing of a Polish-Lithuanian declaration with the approval for setting up a Polish district in Lithuania but resolved to appeal to the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania to solve problems of Polish ethnic minority in line with the desires of Poles living there.

Majewski Gives News Conference at Ministry

AU1705091591 Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish 5 May 91 pp 6, 7

[Miroslaw Witkowski report: "Open Doors at Interior Ministry"]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs wants to be closer to society. A news conference was held there in April.

The secretive building on Rakowiecka Street has preserved its peculiar charmed atmosphere to this very day. Journalists were pleased to stroll around its courtyard. One employee of the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] said that this was just one of the buildings belonging to the ministry. Several other buildings in active use, some of them used by the intelligence services, are outside the Rakowiecka Street complex. The basement of the ministry has secret passages that lead to interrogation cells one kilometer away. Underneath the building itself is a series of top-secret cells. Some military buildings are also used for intelligence and counterintelligence purposes.

During a news conference, Interior Minister Henryk Majewski was asked what was hidden behind the red curtain at the back of the hall. He replied that he had no idea, because he had never been in that room before. Someone revealed that the curtain concealed a portrait of Feliks Dzerzhinskiy. The atmosphere in the whole building is surreal. This is soon noticed by new ministry employees who used to belong to the opposition and now occupy most of the posts in the UOP. One of them told me: "Whenever I talk to a member of the old guard, I have a feeling that he will whip out a pair of handcuffs and put them on me. It seems to me that I am pretending to be a policeman, and he is pretending not to notice that I am pretending."

Minister Majewski admitted that attempts to preserve the counterintelligence had failed and that practically all of it had disintegrated. Now it is being reformed, mostly out of young people who used to belong to the "Freedom and Peace" [WIP] movement. Apparently, 60 percent of the members of this movement already belong to counterintelligence, and the remaining 40 percent are fighting this 60 percent. Some WIP members in counterintelligence have already reached the rank of colonel.

Minister Majewski announced punitive measures against the aggressive opposition and some anarchists, but everyone knows that it is anarchists that constitute the abovementioned 40 percent of WIP that has not joined counterintelligence. Some youth circles are convinced that there will be a showdown between WIP members inside the Interior Ministry and WIP members outside it. No one mentioned anything about genuine threats from extremist circles. There is evidence that the former Security Service is using neofascist groups to manipulate youth communities. Silence on this topic could mean that this kind of practice will continue in the future.

The Interior Ministry news conference made it clear that the minister himself and the almost 1,000 employees on Rakowiecka Street are disoriented and looking for things to do. So there is little wonder that nothing was said about those subjects that interest society. People feel threatened by the increase in crime, yet all that was said at the news conference was that the situation is not good and is not going to be good. The number one topic was an executive helicopter for the pope's use.

A special information brochure produced by the ministry's press office specially for this news conference presented the ministry the way it should be seen. It quoted several examples of breaking the law, with a lot of information on economic crime. Some of the examples of economic offenses were completely unknown and quite interesting, such as the the case of the smuggling of two million packets of Marlboro cigarettes and 500 Sony television sets into the Bialystok area, for which five customs men were locked up; or the discovery of the best dollar bill printing press in Europe, in Kielce; or the forgery of 100,000 and 500,000 zloty bills.

Majewski told the journalists that no punishment would be meted out to the ministry employee who had disclosed to Jerzy Urban's NIE weekly the reason why the police had called upon one of President Walesa's sons [NIE said for drunken driving]. "I ordered investigations into this matter to establish how this information leaked out," said the minister.

A certain anonymous ministry employee told me half the ministry consists of KGB agents. One can assume counterintelligence is going to have a lot of work.

Finally, the ministry press spokesman invited the journalists to the ministry's museum, which exhibits objects connected with the ministry's work since the war. The exhibits include gadgets connected with the KGB and other curiosities.

Unfortunately, the door of the museum turned out to be locked. Someone had stolen the key. The most inquisitive journalists swore they would never leave.

SDRP Dissociates Itself From Workers Party

AU1705084291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 May 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The SDRP Dissociates Itself From The PZPR"]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] met on 11 May to discuss draft documents for the party's first convention, scheduled for 18 May in Warsaw.

An SDRP draft sociopolitical program was adopted, together with amendments to the statute and a stance on "defending the right to education, culture, and information." Following a heated debate, the meeting adopted another draft stance entitled "We Have Rejected the System, We Are Defending Values and People." This stance states, among other things, that the SDRP is not an ideological and political continuation of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and, for the first time, criticizes the introduction of martial law in 1981.

Citizens See Church as Main Political Power

LD1605085291 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 15—The Centre for Public Opinion Research (OBOP) published the results of a poll held on April 22 and 23 in which people were asked a question of who really ruled Poland nowadays. The answers were: the Roman Catholic Church (19 percent), government (16 percent), Sejm (lower house) and Senate (upper house) (15 percent), the president (14 percent), and "Solidarity" (12 percent). Five percent of the respondents pointed to former communist apparatchiks while 14 percent had no opinion on the subject.

Answers to other questions put in the poll revealed a far-going ignorance of the polled of the rules of the Polish political system. For instance, 21 percent of respondents said they did not know who appointed the prime minister in this country.

Roman, Aides Assaulted at 'Faur' Company Meeting

AU1605211491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman, Minister of Industry Victor Stanculescu, and Minister Ion Aurel Stoica held exensive talks which lasted more than two and a half hours at the Faur-S.A. company with the leadership of the company and with leaders of trade unions.

The trade union leaders submitted to the prime minister an eight-point note which included their claims.

In front of the building where the meeting was held a group of employees gathered and demonstrated noisily at the end of the talks, assaulting the representatives of the executive bodies as they left the company.

Taking into consideration the regrettable events that took place at the Faur-S.A company today on the occasion of the meeting between the government team, led by Prime Minister Petre Roman, the Administration Council of the company, and trade union representatives, an act that culminated with acts of vandalism, the leading committees of trade unions, the Association of the Injured in the 1989 Revolution, and the Administration Council express their complete disagreement with those actions and propose the following:

1. Those who left their workplace without the approval of their supervisor should have time deducted from their salaries.

2. Those who are proven by the inquiry to have instigated those acts or who committed aggressive acts should be dismissed in accordance with decree No. 400/1981 and Article 130 of the labor code.

Likewise, we believe that the approximately 200 people who were involved in disturbances do not represent the 14,500 employees of the company.

The signatory trade unions decline all responsibility in connection with such violent acts and affirm with utmost responsibility that they did not organize nor incite the violence and believe that the dialogue that they held with the prime minister and the governmental team created appropriate premises to solve the problems presented through the notes that were forwarded, the [word indistinct], as well as the basic technical-economic claims presented by the Administration Council of the company.

We believe that such manifestations are aimed at denigrating both the trade unions and the Faur-S.A. company and deliberately and very seriously jeopardize the company's economic interests and its very existence.

We ask the prime minister to make a distinction between the 200 agitators and the 14,500 honest employees who are faithfully attached to our company and who were at their workplace throughout the analysis you carried out on the very important problems of the Faur-S.A. Bucharest commercial company.

The protest note, which was forwarded to the ROMPRES news agency, was signed by the Administration Council, the Association of the Injured in the 1989 Revolution, and the Unitatea, Infratirea, Faur, Dreptatea, and [word indistinct] trade unions.

Defense Minister Spiroiu Interviewed

AU1605133391 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 10 May 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Defense Minister Major General Constantin Nicolae Spiroiu by Sergiu Andon; place and date not given: "The Army Remains Apolitical"]

[Text] [Andon] Public opinion pays great heed to the evolution of the process of openness. In this framework, one cannot ignore the following comparison: Mr. Victor Stanculescu had his first meeting with representatives of the press 20 hours after his appointment as minister of defense, while you needed nine days for that. Can you explain this difference?

[Spiroiu] As a matter of fact, I met with the television representatives on the second and third day after my appointment as minister. However, there is a reason for this delay. I was not prepared for my appointment as minister of national defense; the department I was leading was involved in several current matters, and I needed a day to sort things out for my successor. On 2 May, the government decision on the appointment of secretaries of state was issued and I had to organize the leadership of the ministry; almost at the same time, Chief of Staff General Vasile Ionel became an adviser to the president, hence we found ourselves without a chief of staff; I also had to immediately find a replacement for myself in my previous department. So, the first 24 hours were taken up with selecting people for these positions. I tried, as much as possible, to ensure that I am the oldest one in the leadership of the ministry—this year I will be 55; General [Dumitru] Cioflina, 48, will be the chief of staff; Colonel Doctor Engineer Florentin Popa, 47, will head the Department for Army Supplies; and I am thinking of also appointing someone younger than me at the Army Department of Education, Science, and Culture. On top of which, I met with almost all major commands of the Romanian Army. I doubt that other ministers performed this task so promptly. So, there were enough reasons why I could not meet with the press very soon.

[Andon] What is Mr. Stanculescu's current military status?

[Spiroiu] Colonel General Stanculescu continues to be an active general temporarily attached to the national economy, as is the case with very many officers and generals.

[Andon] Does CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] still exist? Do you still have CADA-related problems?

[Spiroiu] In my opinion, there no longer exists such a problem. At least, I have not come across it. Nobody from CADA contacted me. CADA was not accepted in the Army. I actually dared to tell them this to their face, when they were still in fashion.

[Andon] In February last year, an official communique was released after Mr. Petre Roman's dialogue with representatives of certain territorial military units. The first point of that communique stipulated: "The prime minister decided to set up a governmental commission to establish the truth on the Army's role in the 16-22 December revolution. The results will be released accordingly." Does anyone know the results of this commission's activity?

[Spiroiu] This matter was brought to my attention today and I ordered to be shown the respective document, which I will expediently hand over to the Parliament.

[Andon] In connection with the excessive prolongation of the "Timisoara" trial and the relative dependence of military magistrates, one can assume that Filip Teodorescu is actually the Army's prisoner. On the other hand, the accused may also be the key to rebuilding an efficient counter-espionage system. Are you concerned with this matter?

[Spiroiu] I do not see why that defendant should be considered a prisoner of the Army. I do not know who decided to arrest those people. Why were they arrested? I do not know the case. However, I would like to tell you that, as a military man, I did find time to get in touch with the Prosecutor's Office and the military courts to solve various matters related to the job. As far as I am concerned, I found that these people behaved correctly and wisely, even in the difficult period.

[Andon] On 22 February 1990, the leadership of the Ministry of Defense received an "Appeal for the Army's Stability" from certain Romanian Army units stationed in Transylvania. The appeal concluded as follows: "We believe it is absolutely necessary now to adopt a law which forbids any political or administrative body, any military command, and any person, regardless of rank and position, to give the Army orders that may affect in any way the people's interests or Romania's territorial integrity." Has a law that would meet these requirements been adopted?

[Spiroiu] No, but endorsement of the statutes for military cadres is in an advanced stage, as well as the law on defense; likewise, as you well know, the Constituent Assembly has a Commission for Defense, Public Order, and Security. We discussed with the members of that commission that they should ensure that the statute stipulates that the Army is one and that it does not serve any political party, government, president, or king. It only serves the interests of the country's defense. It defends the country. I have here a set of rules from 1921. "The Army is the country's shield against external interference and internal disorder." So, this is how Ferdinand [King Ferdinand of Romania] put it. Today, we put it like this: The Army belongs to the country and the people and it is an apolitical body—believe me, firm steps were taken to ensure that the Army stays apolitical.

[Andon] To what extent do the current economic, social, and moral deficiencies of our society affect the military institution?

[Spiroiu] Unfortunately, the current difficulties only add to some older hardships. The barracks had not been properly maintained. No money was allocated for their repair. The quartering services were partially abolished to save personnel. We are faced with very serious social protection problems.

[Andon] Do the difficulties in the overall economy also have their impact on the Army?

[Spiroiu] Yes, in all spheres, particularly in the sphere of modernization and of what the Army calls "technological supply." As Mr. Minister Stanculescu said in Parliament during the debate on the law on the budget, right now we can only afford to maintain the available technology in an operative state and to occasionally apply feasibility checks and modernization programs for the technological equipment manufactured or used in our country; we are only slowly making a small start with the modernization of our armaments industry. Our supply funds total 14 billion lei, of which 600 million lei are for investment-constructions; this means that, after deducting that figure, about 13.4 billion lei are left which, if we divide them by 200, amount to some $650 million, from which we have not yet received a single cent, at the current exchange rate. We have very old technology, at the level of 1982. We are maybe the only army in Europe still extensively using the T-34 tank manufactured at the end of World War II. Still, last year we acquired some high technology, too, such as MiG-29 planes, which are quite good—the Swiss also want to buy them, and the German Army wants to keep them.... We drew up long-term programs and contacted firms throughout the world, particularly in the West, to buy high performance technology; we are too poor to afford to buy poor quality technology. We will continue to buy from the Soviets; we are obliged to do so because our radar and aircraft technology comes from them and we must continue to buy spare parts. Some people advocated that we purchase several high-performance tanks of a totally new type first presented by the Soviets in 1988—this tank has an onboard computer with laser range-finder, fires laser-guided missiles, has a hydrostatic rather than electric stabilizer...

[Andon] Some career officers are unhappy with the solution of importing weaponry, because you depend on the supplier for ammunition and spare parts.

[Spiroiu] One of the doctrine principles we have observed in the past and which we keep up even now is

that, as far as possible, the basic armaments and everything we need to maintain and use them should be produced domestically. We are encouraging this doctrine principle. From the Soviets we bought aircraft, radar technology, and anti-aircraft missiles, hence, complex technology. We will continue to do this. We have also contacted highly competent firms. We want to proceed as follows: Take one or two samples of the respective technology, try them out in the Army, buy several units, manufacture them together with the supplier, who should deliver the technology and some materials, jointly produce the equipment to meet the needs of the Romanian Army and, after satisfying the Army's requirements, manufacture it for export. We are particularly focussing on defense technologies: anti-aircraft defense, liaison technology.... Transport will however be produced domestically.

[Andon] What about the military doctrine proper—has the principle of the whole nation's war undergone any changes?

[Spiroiu] In my opinion, there is no need for changes there. We call it "the whole nation's war." If you read the chapter in Clausewitz's book about "The People's War," you will see that all the principles of the people's war written down by Clausewitz some 160 years ago were exactly the principles of the whole nation's war. Therefore, we do not have to make basic changes, only changes in the implementation of that doctrine. In other words, we no longer have the patriotic guards whose general staff was at the party Central Committee or county committee; we have national guards, which we want to subordinate to the territorial military commands, which in turn will be subordinated to Army commands.

[Andon] What stage has the organization of the national guards reached?

[Spiroiu] They exist, but their command is still at the military center, that is, at the military command.

[Andon] Are the guards operational?

[Spiroiu] To tell you the truth, not much has been done along those lines yet.

[Andon] General Stanculescu once said in an interview: "I maintain that the Ministry of Defense should make the country's defense policy." Do you agree with that?

[Spiroiu] There is no doubt that the country's foreign policy is observed, on the military plane, by the military doctrine. As long as our policy is a policy of peace, of recognition of treaties, and no territorial claims, it is only natural that our military doctrine should accord with this policy and be a defensive doctrine; hence, the Army implements the country's foreign policy in its specific sphere. Because, if the foreign policy leads to the start of a war, it is the Army that will wage that war. "War is a continuation of politics by other means"—Clausewitz wrote that first, not Lenin. Here you have, if you like, the connection between an apolitical Army and the political aspects of its involvement in the country's defense.

[Andon] Does the very complicated situation in Yugoslavia change the strategic situation? Should one take certain steps in view of that?

[Spiroiu] It is very important that our neighbors should be stable; that is, there should be stability in our neighboring countries. There is this situation of instability in Yugoslavia, but we do not at all want to interfere in the way they solve their problems as a federal state, in their inter-ethnic conflicts, and in the trends developing there. On the other hand, it is obvious that the instability in Yugoslavia can create serious problems in the Balkans, in spite of the processes that took place in Eastern Europe and in spite of the fact that neither we nor the Bulgarians have any territorial claims.

[Andon] Do you know Bulgaria's intentions?

[Spiroiu] I met with the Bulgarian defense minister and they also have a "policy of sufficiency," that is, no territorial claims. However, instability in the Balkans at this time can lead to unwelcome situations of conflict.

[Andon] Some material was written about the existence of an Anti-Ceausescu Military Resistance Front. What was the scope of that Front? Did it have a significant number of generals?

[Spiroiu] During Ceausescu's regime, I never heard of any action organized by an active or retired general. All I heard was about the arrest and trial of General Serb, who belonged to the infantry and tank command and who allegedly passed some documents to the Soviets. In my opinion, the system created by Ceausescu kept everyone's hands tied. I never heard of any concrete action and I do not think that it could have succeeded. The entire Army eventually became involved in such an action, in the wake of that spontaneous popular revolt, which found support in the Army, as the people have always found that support in the Army. I would like to assure you that the people can further count on the country's Army. I told all commands that, at this difficult time, the Army is the body in which the people are putting their hopes and trust. I want to give assurances that all those with whom I talked agreed that we should never deceive this hope of the people. You should know that all is quiet in the Army; the men are training, exercises are being carried out,, all programs are fully implemented, and we are ready to fulfill, at any given moment, the mission of defending the country.

[Andon] Thank you Mr. Minister.

Markovic's Proposals for Solving Presidency Crisis

LD1605143191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—At yesterday's SFRY Presidency session, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic presented three concrete proposals for resolving the situation in the Yugoslav Presidency stemming from the failure to elect its president.

TANJUG has learned that the proposals are as follows:

First, that the SFRY Presidency, on the basis of the Constitution and the rule book, proclaim the new Presidency president. According to Markovic, the Constitution and the book of rules clearly sets out that the president and vice-president are elected for a one-year term, and every year from a different republic or autonomous province, in line with the rota estabished by the book of rules on the Presidency proceedings.

Second, that the SFRY Assembly proclaim three newly-proposed members of the SFRY Presidency, and, in doing so, complete the Presidency. If some are contesting the election of the Presidency member from Kosovo, Markovic said, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia should decide about this, since this is precisely the relevant procedure for this type of situation.

TANJUG has learned that during today, the federal prime minister continued to have intensive contacts with members of the Yugoslav Presidency and the SFRY Assembly aimed at finding a way out of the crisis in the state leadership. It is expected that this evening's session of the SFRY Presidency will once again discuss the proposals presented by Prime Minister Markovic at yesterday's session.

Markovic, Bogicevic, Bajramovic View Crisis

AU1605150991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] While he was waiting for the beginning of the joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, our correspondent Momcilo Boskovic spoke to Ante Markovic, Aleksandar Mitrovic, Bogic Bogicevic, and Sejdo Bajramovic about the possibilities of resolving the political crisis.

[Boskovic] President Markovic, what is your comment about the situation that has arisen in the SFRY Presidency? You have always been an optimist.

[Markovic] What do I look like to you. Yugoslavia will survive regardless of whether some of its institutions exist or not, because there are other institutions that will function normally.

[Boskovic] For instance, the Federal Executive Council [FEC]?

[Markovic] The FEC, as the government, is functioning, the Assembly is functioning. Therefore, I think that there is no reason to worry about the future of Yugoslavia. In this respect [Boskovic interrupts Markovic, who continues speaking but changes thought]. On the one hand I think that things will be resolved in a positive way, in the SFRY Presidency too. [indistinct interjection] There is (?no need to reach) a compromise [words indistinct] must be elected.

[Mitrovic] (?Let me say) something about this. (?Have other countries) not been in a similar situation? This will not last long. We should resolve this today.

[Boskovic] Bogic Bogicevic, is the position in the SFRY Presidency a stalemate or a checkmate?

[Bogicevic] I expect that we will come out of this position sometime today. You see, the institution of the presidency has been present in our political system for 20 years, and so far neither establishing the order nor the election of the president or vice president, who have always been elected with the consent of all members of the Presidency, have been contentious. This time the president of the SFRY Presidency has not been elected, and this could mean a further intensification of our crisis or even the blockade of the presidency in performing its constitutional duties.

[Boskovic] How do you think you will resolve this? You have been holding sessions behind closed doors, which in way irritated the public, which did not know what was happening, what you were doing. People are anxious.

[Bogicevic] As far as I am concerned, the sessions need not have been held behind closed doors. My vote was strictly in accordance with the Constitution and the Rules of Procedure on the work of the SFRY Presidency, which precisely define the election of the president and the vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

[Boskovic] Is there enough time today to complete everything, that is, to elect the president and the new members of the presidency?

[Bogicevic] I expect that the SFRY Assembly will today proclaim the newly elected members of the SFRY Presidency, and that after that we will look for a solution at the SFRY Presidency session.

[Boskovic] Has the Presidency session already been scheduled?

[Bogicevic] Yes, the Presidency session will be held sometime today.

[Boskovic] You do not know when?

[Bogicevic] This will depend on the SFRY Assembly.

[Boskovic] Another question. What if the members of the Presidency are not proclaimed, as was the case last time. The situation will (?remain complicated?)

[Bogicevic] You see, the more precise terminology that we have been using recently, would perhaps be proclamation rather then election. Members of the Presidency are actually elected in accordance with the Constitution in the assemblies of the republics and provinces from which they come. This also applies to the president and the vice president of the SFRY Presidency. I said that in the last 20 years we have only been automatically verifying and proclaiming them in the SFRY Presidency.

[Boskovic] Therefore, judging by what you said, you are an optimist.

[Bogicevic] I hope, in view of the constitutional duties of the Presidency and its responsibility for Yugoslavia and for everything that we have adopted so far—I primarily refer to the stands of 9 May that were adopted unanimously, the stands that mean the provision of peace in Yugoslavia and the resolution of all conflicts with democratic means, for which I do not see an alternative—that we will find a solution to this problem on the basis of these stands and responsibilities.

[Boskovic] Sejdo Bajramovic. You are supposed to be elected member of the Presidency this afternoon if the SFRY Assembly gives the green light. How do you feel? Will they elect you. (?You were) sitting here in the first row of the Federal Assembly with Branko Kostic and Jugoslav Kostic and were not elected? What do you expect now?

[Bajramovic] To be honest, in view of everything that has been happening in the country, nothing surprises me. We will see. It would not be all that good to try to predict things. What is important is that I was the only one elected by the Serbian Assembly and the citizens.

[Boskovic] And now you are waiting for a denouement?

[Bajramovic] I am now waiting for the denouement. Just as Mr. Stipe Mesic was elected by the Croatian Assembly so was I by the Serbian Assembly, and just as Comrade Branko Kostic was elected by the Montengrin Assembly. This should not [words indistinct]

[Boskovic] So, you expect to be finally (?elected) today.

[Bajramovic] There should be a positive outcome today. There is nothing else to wait for.

Assembly Proclaims New Presidency Members

AU1605173591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 91

[Milorad Jovic report from the Federal Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] It seems that something new has happened in the SFRY Assembly.

[Jovic] Yes, something very important has happened. The crisis has been overcome. At this moment, Jugoslav Kostic, Branko Kostic, and Sejdo Bajramovic are taking solemn oaths as new members of the SFRY Presidency. It was decided at the session of the chairmen and coordinators of the Assembly bodies that the course of the session we had carried live was correct and that one should continue where it stopped. It was decided that everything is being done according to the Constitution and that everything is therefore all right. So, the new members of the SFRY Presidency have been proclaimed, the composition of the new Presidency has been proclaimed and the only thing left—we can hear it right now—is to take the solemn oath:

[Unidentified speaker] [words indistinct] responsibly perform my duty.

[?Gligorijevic] Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to congratulate the newly elected members of the SFRY Presidency on behalf of the delegates to the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly and to wish them to successfully perform their duty.

[Jovic] We really hope that this will be so. This is all from the SFRY Assembly.

Tudjman Absent From Presidency Session

LD1605173591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] We have just learned that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has not left for Belgrade to attend the SFRY Presidency session. [SFRY] Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic is preparing to leave and is waiting for the plane from Ljubljana in which Presidency member Janez Drnovsek is also travelling and possibly Slovene President Milan Kucan. Let us remind you that the Federal prime minister [words indistinct] for 1700 GMT, but it is obvious that the session will be delayed.

Reasons for Government No Confidence Debate

LD1605174991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—Miran Mejak, president of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the bi-cameral Yugoslav parliament, today announced that a debate on confidence in the Federal Government will be held on Thursday, May 23, in the parliament chamber.

The question of confidence in the government was raised by Miroslav Maric, who is a deputy from the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina which is a part of the Republic of Serbia, on the basis of authority from the provincial parliament.

Explaining his stand, the deputy assessed that the Federal Government "is increasingly losing in compromises and trying to take care of the damages which came as a result of the measures is introduced."

He underscored that the government is leading a poor social policy and accused it of "passive conduct in view of the growing antagonisms in the country, the illegal imports of arms and arming of paramilitary and other illegal formations in the country."

Criticizing the policy of the Federal Government so far, the deputy of Vojvodina assessed that it "did not have general support in the Yugoslav parliament, while the government "cannot take foreign support for its reforms course as the main argument in its favour." [quotation marks as received]

If the Federal Government received a no-confidence vote from the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and was also approved by the federal chamber, the Federal Government would be dissolved.

If the federal chamber does not give a vote of no confidence, and if the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces holds on to its stand, then both chambers will review the question of confidence in the government at their joint session.

Jovic Explains Vote Against Mesic

AU1605222291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 May 91

[Interview with Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia, by Belgrade television journalist Branka Mihajlovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mihajlovic] Now that your term of office as president of the SFRY Presidency has expired, we are, in fact, left without a president of the Presidency. Does that mean that we have been left without a leadership of the country?

[Jovic] It in no way means that we have been left without a leadership of the country, because the Presidency exists in its full composition and holds meetings as such.

[Mihajlovic] Does the fact that a new Presidency president has not been elected mean that this is a constitutional crisis?

[Jovic] It in no way means that this is a constitutional crisis. It only means a kind of crisis in the election of the Presidency's leadership and nothing else. The constitutional crisis has existed in Yugoslavia for a long time. Its causes lie on a completely different side. Rather, one can say that the crisis in the election of the Presidency's leadership is a consequence of this wider crisis existing in our society and that this crisis in society can by no means be, nor has it been, caused by this.

[Mihajlovic] For the first time, a representative of a republic whose turn it is to be elected has not been elected. Does that mean that this republic is in an unequal position? What I mean here is Croatia.

[Jovic] It does not at all mean that it is in an unequal position. The republic of Croatia is in a completely equal position, because its candidate is put on the agenda to be elected president of the Presidency, as it is envisaged in the rules of procedure; and the vote on him was taken in the way envisaged by the Constitution and rules of procedure. The fact that he has not been elected is only a sign that he lost the election, something that can happen to anyone.

[Mihajlovic] Excuse me, how were you elected? Was there a vote?

[Jovic] I was elected in completely the same way. The agenda was established in the same way, the vote was taken in the same way, and the result of the vote was ascertained in the same way, and (?I was proclaimed). Therefore, there is no difference.

[Mihajlovic] Would you please explain in detail why you failed to vote for Stipe Mesic?

[Jovic] Well, I explained this at the Presidency session last night. The reason is very simple. On several occasions, Stipe Mesic has publicly stated that his aim is to break the Yugoslav state apart. It is my deep conviction that no state in the world should elect as its head a man who aims to break it apart. This is the only reason and the main reason. I have nothing against anyone having his own aims and ideas, but I am against a state electing as its president a man who aims to break it apart.

[Mihajlovic] What can you predict? What is happening now, since there is no president?

[Jovic] We now have a continuous Presidency session with a view to finding a political solution.

[Mihajlovic] There is a rumor that the outcome of yesterday's vote had to do with the fact that a political agreement was expected: If the three Presidency members who were contested in the Assembly are elected, then the proposed candidate for president of the Presidency will be elected. Is there any reality to this guesswork?

[Jovic] I really know nothing about such an agreement. I can say that there was no such agreement at the Presidency session. I do not know whether there was any talk about this in the corridors, but I really do not believe this. The only truth lies in the fact that the representative from the Republic of Montenegro has said publicly that he does not want to state his opinion because the Presidency member from Montenegro had not been proclaimed.

[Mihajlovic] It is now about 1700. What is going to happen, and when will the Presidency session be held? Can you predict that?

[Jovic] The Presidency session will begin after the SFRY Assembly session ends and after the Presidency member from Montenegro has consultations in the Montenegrin Assembly session. As far as I understand, the Montenegrin vote will now in fact be the decisive vote, if, of

course, another Presidency member does not change his mind. We shall continue the Presidency session immediately afterwards.

[Mihajlovic] I must say that the people are afraid of everything that is happening, including this crisis in the Presidency. Tell me, do you believe that we will nevertheless get a Presidency president tonight? Does such a possibility exist?

[Jovic] First of all, I would like to say that our citizens have a lot of reasons to be concerned about the crisis in Yugoslavia, a crisis that has existed for a long time and the causes of which are known. I have spoken about this several times. This crisis in the Presidency is nothing special and nothing decisive for the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis. What is involved here is a procedure of electing the president of the SFRY Presidency that is completely normal for the democratic conditions in which we are beginning to live. This procedure was planned in the past and was also carried out in the past without being noticed, considering the automatism and unanimity of people's behavior. We now have democratic processes in which everyone must be subjected to criteria at elections, in which everyone must bear the consequences of the elections and be aware of his behavior in the period before the elections, so that those who are electing them can make a decision. Therefore no one today can expect to be elected automatically and be the only candidate on the list—so the only way one can vote is for or against—and everyone must accept this. If one considers the fact that this is a democratic act that must happen in a democratic society that wants to apply democracy at all levels, then all those people who exert pressure on the people who vote according to their convictions—and the vote is about a man to head Yugoslavia, that is, the man most responsible for our future—then we should consider ourselves lucky for having the opportunity and right to express our conviction and not unlucky for having to seek a solution in a democratic way.

[Mihajlovic] Could it be that [words indistinct] an argument for those who wanted to leave earlier and to do so with reason?

[Jovic] Everyone should make his own conclusions. I think that, in any case, this is both a lesson and a warning that we are now going through a period in which everyone should carefully consider every move he makes and should know that no one can receive a post or [word indistinct] automatically on any basis.

[Mihajlovic] (?Comrade Jovic), if the result of the vote tonight is 4-4 again—this is a hypothetical question, but I have to ask it—who is going to convene the next Presidency session?

[Jovic] The session will probably be continued to seek a solution, and we shall agree about the procedure.

[Mihajlovic] When you assumed the post of president of the Presidency, could you in any way imagine what the situation would be like when you left the post and to what extent the crisis would (?deepen)?

[Jovic] If you perhaps recall the statement I made when I assumed the post as head of the Presidency, I warned about the possible tragic consequences of what would be happening in our country if we failed to prevent all that. During my entire term of office, I persisted in trying to prevent that. Resistance was so hard and so violent, however, that we were (?rapidly) getting into a crisis deeper than the one (?in the beginning), but certainly smaller than [words indistinct].

[Mihajlovic] Thank you, [word indistinct] Jovic.

FEC Announces Plan for Croatia

LD1605210591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—At a session held today in Belgrade, representatives of federal bodies and bodies of the Republic of Croatia drafted a joint plan of action regarding the events in Croatia. The plan is devised to facilitate joint and coordinated implementation of the SFRY Presidency stands and Federal Executive Council [FEC] conclusions.

This is stressed in a statement of the FEC Secretariat for Information. The statement reveals that five working groups, which will consist of representatives of appropriate federal, military, and republican bodies, will establish facts about the past events in the Republic of Croatia, their protagonists, the situation in the crisis area in this republic, measures undertaken against delinquents, and, if measures have not been undertaken, then it will ask why not. All attacks on individuals, bodies, institutions, and their members or buildings will be investigated, and the level of the inflicted damage will be established for compensation purposes.

Among the planned objectives of this plan are to investigate extreme activities of groups and individuals belonging to political parties. A special group will look into the issue of the safety of journalists and their offices, and cases of false reports. Two working groups will start working as soon as next week.

Federal Secretary for Justice Vlado Kambovski at today's meeting presented a FEC proposal for an ad hoc Commission for the Protection of Human Liberties and Rights to be set up outside institutional frameworks and with the approval of the republican governments. Representatives of republican commitees for the protection of human rights and liberties will take part in the work of the commission, which, as Kambovski pointed out, will tour crisis regions throughout the country and establish facts about violations of human liberties and rights caused by exacerbated interethnic tensions, the statement concludes.

Croatian, Slovenian Delegates Leave Session

LD1605160591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 16 May (TANJUG)—The chairman of the joint session of the Federal chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, Slobodan Gligorijevic, asked for a break so that procedural issues are resolved. The session should proclaim new members of the Presidency from Montegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo.

Following a lengthy discussion, the agenda was established by the majority of votes of delegates of both chambers. Prior to this, an amendment presented by the Slovene delegates and a group of Albanian delegates from Kosovo that only Presidency members from Montenegro and Vojvodina are proclaimed today was rejected.

When the voting for and proclamation of the new members of the state Presidency started, it transpired that delegates from Croatia and Slovenia left the session.

Securitate Reportedly Involved in Borovo Events

AU1605100291 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 May 91 p 4

[Mirko Sajler report: "Terrorists 'Imported' From Romania"]

[Excerpts] The events in Borovo Selo are gradually becoming clearer and clearer. It is now quite certain that the Croatian policemen were victims of the rejects of the former notorious Romanian secret police, the Securitate. Fleeing from their own country to avoid punishment for the crimes that they had committed there, numerous Securitate agents crossed the Danube and found refuge in the Serbian state security service. According to a report in GLAS SLAVONIJE [voice of Slavonia], which cites reliable sources, the dead terrorists, of which there were as many as 30, had tattooed on their upper arm near the shoulder the symbol and code of the secret Romanian police.

About 30 Mercenaries Died

Virtually every day, the Belgrade and Novi Sad media, particularly Belgrade Television and Novi Sad Television, have been leveling criticism at the media in Osijek and Zagreb because they only write about the dead policemen and say not one word about the losses on the other side. The Croatian government is openly being called to account because at no point did it find a word of sympathy for the innocent Serbian victims in Borovo Selo. Everything is now clear. Some three civilians and several dozen professional hired killers, mainly former Securitate agents, died in Borovo Selo. To cover everything up, the dead men—whom no one is waiting for and whom no one will ever be looking for—were transported by trailer to the banks of the Danube and thrown into the river or transported by boat to the Vojvodina side. They were buried somewhere in a mass grave on the left bank of the Danube across from Borovo Selo.

They Fear Retaliation

The inhabitants of Borovo Selo continue to live in fear and do not want to make statements. They now fear retaliation by the inhabitants of villages where the dead policemen came from, and they also fear revenge from Chetniks if they say anything about what has been happening in their village in the last 30 days. Many people are therefore leaving their homes and hiding with friends and relatives in Osijek, Vukovar, Backa Palanka, and other places. [passage omitted]

Journalists "Underground"

All those who reported differently on the events are now in danger. The editorial board of GLAS SLAVONIJE has also been receiving a constant stream of threats. Therefore, the newspaper, which also issued a special "wartime edition," decided to send its journalists "underground." That is to say, not one of the articles in the 6 May edition was signed. At the same time, GLAS SLAVONIJE and the Osijek radio and television center are being protected by forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Strong Explosion Reported in Borovo

LD1705113191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Vukovar, 17 May (TANJUG)—Last night at around 0300 a strong explosion was heard in Borovo. The police have no reports that anyone was injured or that there were any attacks on buildings in this area, and it is therefore assumed that this was an attempt at disturbing the citizens.

The Borovo-Vinkovci railway line, which was mined three days ago near the village of Brsadin, has still not been cleared. Martin Vidic, vice president of the Vukovar municipality, told TANJUG journalists that the municipal authorities are trying to reach agreement with the Army and the policy on securing the railway to prevent any more possible mining.

The schools in the Vukovar municipality are operating, but in the Serbian villages of Borovo and Brsadin half the pupils are not attending classes. About 10,000 workers of the Borovo combine are on compulsory leave. The workers have been given leave because, as the management says, there is a lack of materials and attendance at work has been irregular because of the tension in the region.

Parties React to Presidency Crisis

LD1605210191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia (SRSJ) for Serbia called

today the citizens to withdraw their confidence in the personal regime of President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic who was "dragging them into an abyss of inter-nationality war and into the mounting international isolation."

The SRSJ, initiated by Federal Premier Ante Markovic and having its deputies in Serbian Parliament, maintains that the non-election of Croatian representative to the function of Yugoslav State Presidency president also was an obstruction performed by the personal regime of Milosevic.

The leadership of the opposition Social-Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (formerly communists) today backed the election of Mesic and that of Yugoslav Presidency members from Monetenegro, Vojvodina and Kosovo, warning that the country faced complete chaos.

The Croatian opposition Socialist Party leaders addressed today the world public, especially the European Community (EC) to take over their part of political responsibility in the resolving of Yugoslavia's crisis. This party held that it was more than evident that, for serbia, politics is not an art of the possible, but, that of forces of pressure and blackmail aimed at realizing its imaginary rights at the loss of the rights of the other nations and nationalities."

Unlike this, the fact that Mesic was not elected was welcomed today by president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Croatia Jovan Raskovic and the Bozur Association which rallies Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Province which is part of Serbia.

Raskovic stressed that Serbs did not accept Mesic in order to "defend the Serbian national being." He said that "a military coup is possible for it does not bother the West, so why should it bother us, Serbs."

The Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the largest opposition party in Serbia, demanded on Thursday night "of all presidency of Yugoslavia members to have respect for the country's constitution and the rules of procedure concerning the election of its president and vice-president."

The SPO statement stresses that Serbia's representatives to the Presidency have no right to declare their unconstitutional conduct as a "triumph of democracy." "They have not been authorized by the Serbian people to add [passage indistinct].

Krajina Assembly Decides To Join Serbia

AU1605181591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] The Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina has adopted the decision to join Serbia.

[Peric] In the building of the Knin Assembly building, the seat of the Krajina Assembly, a few minutes ago deputies of the Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina adopted the decision for the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina to join the Republic of Serbia. This was done after adopting official results of the Sunday referendum at which over 80 percent of all adult citizens of the Krajina communes took part and only 199 of them were against the accession.

Just like last fall, Knin and other places in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina are again threatened by a shortage of gasoline and other oil derivatives. Meanwhile, a Jugopetrol gas station has opened. People employed at the Zagreb INA gas stations in Knin and the nearby Kistanje issued a special statement today in which they explain why they cannot supply gasoline to their consumers. They are constantly being told by the INA plants and that they cannot send their tank trucks to this area allegedly because of barricades along the roads. There have been no barricades for a long time, apart from a road near Civljane and on one side of the road through (?Polomca) near Benkovac, and even these roads can be bypassed. At the end of this announcement, employees in the INA gas stations in Knin and Kistanje apologize to their consumers.

Radivojevic Releases Resignation Statement

LD1505171391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0856 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—An explanation for the resignation of Serbian Vice Prime Minister Velimir Radivojevic arrived today at the Serbian Assembly. Radivojevic resigned on 30 April, but his resignation became known only a few days ago. In a very brief explanation Radivojevic merely states that at the present juncture and in the current situation he cannot offer his expected contribution to the way out of the economic crisis in which the Serbian economy finds itself.

Before holding the office of vice president in the Serbian government, Velimir Radivojevic was manager of the Prva Petoletka firm in Trstenik and manager of the Community of Yugoslav Armaments and Military Equipment Industry.

Constitutional Position of Kosovo Unresolved

LD1505200991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 15 May 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—During the April session of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly delegate Ante Markovic asked the assembly Commission for Constitutional Affairs to give its views on "whether the present state, election and method of work of the SFRY Presidency and of the federal Assembly is constitutional and legitimate and who represents Kosovo in the SFRY Presidency, on the basis of which and whose decision, and since what date."

In this connection Yugoslav Assembly President Dr. Slobodan Gligorijevic, who is also the chairman of the Constitutional Commission, has informed delegate [Ante] Krstulovic that the Federal Chamber had asked the Assembly Commission for Constitutional Affairs to embark on the drafting of an act that will settle the relations within the Yugoslav community, on the basis of which the crisis of our constitutional system can be resolved.

As far as the assessment of the constitutionality of certain general acts concerning the election of the SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo is concerned, this is outside the province of the Constitutional Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly falling within the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, Gligorijevic says in his reply. [passage omitted]

Serbian Government Decides on Vojvodina Status

LD1505214291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 15 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today adopted a draft statute of Vojvodina, one of Serbia's two provinces, according to which, as was announced, Vojvodina would have, in conformity with the new constitution of Serbia, its territorial autonomy without the characters of statehood.

"The adoption of the statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina helps the enforcement of the Republic of Serbia's constitutional concept of a single and indivisible democratic state," says an announcement issued from the Serbian government session.

Under the new republican constitution of Serbia, adopted last September, its two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, obtained a form of territorial autonomy, not political autonomy, while their statutes, instead of their constitutions, became their supreme legal acts.

The Serbian government, as was announced, holds that the adoption of the Vojvodina statute generates the legal prerequisites for the political structure of this province as conditions necessary for the election and reorganization of organs in Vojvodina.

The draft statute of Vojvodina was sent to the National Assembly of Serbia for final approval.

The provincial organs of Kosovo—government, parliament and all others—were dissolved last July when a group of ethnic Albanian deputies illegally proclaimed Kosovo a republic promulgating its constitution.

The Assmebly of Serbia, on the basis of the new republican constitution, since then has been performing the functions of the provincial organs in Kosovo.

Kucan Discourages 'Chaotic Breakup' of Nation

LD1605212191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1907 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 16 (TANJUG)—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, said on Thursday that it is in Slovenia's interest that a chaotic break-up of Yugoslavia should not occur.

Speaking in a program on Radio Slovenia, Kucan said that the failure to elect Stipe Mesic as president of the Yugoslav state Presidency would "speed up the break-up of the state."

Answering questions from callers, Kucan said that with its conduct at the Presidency session on Wednesday, Serbia separated itself from Yugoslavia, however harsh it may sound.

During the regular [word indistinct] in the Yugoslav state leadership yesterday, the eight-member Yugoslav Presidency did not elect Stipe Mesic, from Croatia, although under an established rotation system, it was the Croatian representative's turn.

Kucan said that he personally considered [words indistinct] elected since it was Croatia's turn to head the Presidency.

He also said that he considered it "realistic" for Croatia to follow Slovenia in becoming independent "if all the statements by Yugoslav, that is, republican politicians were serious."

Kucan said that the Yugoslav Army has so far respected legal principles and that, in keeping with Slovenia's stand, all soldiers from Slovenia serving their term in the Yugoslav People's Army should be returned to their homes by June 10.

Slovene Defense Minister Protests 'Detentions'

LD1605222191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 16 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 May (TANJUG)—Slovenian Defense Minister Janez Jansa, has sent a strong protest to the federal secretary for national defense, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, with the request that soldiers from the Republic of Slovenia who have already completed their military service be allowed to return home immediately, and all others by 10 June at the latest.

The statement of the republican Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Slovenia also states that more than 600 soldiers who were sent from Slovenia for their military service in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] a year ago, should return home shortly. Despite the fact that they have already concluded their military service, and that this has been recorded in their military identity cards in the JNA units, according to the information that the republican Secretariat for National Defense has received recently, some individuals among them cannot return home because they were immediately drafted into reserve units and detained in the JNA.

The Ministry of Defense recalls in this connection that such detention is envisaged under the federal law on military service (official paper SFRY, No.64/85), if "it is called for in the interests of the defense of state," which is determined by the SFRY Presidency.

"We conclude that the SFRY Presidency has not ordered this measure, and therefore this move is illegal from the point of view of the federal regulations," the statement says.

Montenegro's Kostic Addresses Assembly Session

LD1705131591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 17 May 91

[Text] Titograd, 17 May (TANJUG)—I will stick to principles rather than to trading positions, the newly elected member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro, Branko Kostic, said at today's emergency session of the republican assembly, speaking about his vote in the course of electing the president of the country's state presidency. My vote will not be the fifth vote. For, the Montenegrins are not the fifth nation, Kostic said as he stressed that whenever he was going to vote his vote would bring about serious political consequences.

Defense Law Stipulates Army Representation

LD1505112491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0929 GMT 15 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 15 May (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly today passed changes and amendments to the Law on All-People's Defense that gives the SFRY Presidency the powers to independently appoint republican and provincial territorial defense commanders. By the terms of this law the Federal Secretariat of National Defense is obliged to carry out an inspection business in the military conscription area and plan the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] complement from the entire SFRY territory taking a most even representation of our nations and nationalities into account.

In view of the multiparty political system prevailing in the country previous regulations on All-People's Defense and Civil Protection and on Sociopolitical Organizations were left out of the law.